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Selections.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON COLONIZATION.

REVIEW BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

From The Liberator.

A SPECTACLE, as humiliating as it was extraordinary, was presented to all Christendom on the afternoon of Aug. 14th, in the Executive Mansion at Washington. By special invitation of President Lincoln, a committee of the colored people of that city appeared before him, to listen to a proposition, on his part, for their removal to Central America, under an Act of Congress appropriating a million of money to effect that object. Can any sensible, humane, upright man read his address delivered on that occasion, without a blush, alike for its author, and for the country which he officially represents? Can any thing more pitiful, vile, shameful, illogical, impertinent, untimely? Will it not excite the derision and scorn, if not the astonishment, of all Europe? Look at a few particulars.

1. From an early period, the African slave trade was prosecuted with great activity in various parts of the country, and sanctioned and protected as a legitimate branch of commerce, for twenty years, under the Constitution of the United States. The result of it was the burning and desolation of hundreds of African villages, horrible slaughter, and the kidnapping of hundreds of thousands of native Africans, to be transported to these shores, for slave-driving purposes, in the holds of loathsome slave-hells. The piratical slave vessels used for that diabolical object. Of course, vast multitudes of them perished, during "the middle passage," from the suffocating manner in which they were packed. Such as survived were doomed to a life of bondage, hitherto excruciating and bloody. Had it not been for the cupidity of their white enslavers, not one of their race would now be found upon this continent. They came not hither either as intruders or adventurers, but compulsorily as victims. The original stock has long since been exhausted; but from it the four million now held in galling chains have sprung, by natural birth, on the soil which they have reddened with their blood, and many times over paid for in unrequited labor. They are as much the natives of the country as any of their oppressors. Here they were born here, by every consideration of justice and humanity, they are entitled to live; and here it is for them to die in the land of their nativity and love, in spite of cruel and brutal an act to conspire for their expatriation, as it would be to seek the expulsion of the fairest of the fair, of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is for them to exclaim as proudly and enthusiastically as others—

> "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land!
> Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
> As home his footsteps he hath turned,
> From wand'ring on a foreign strand!
> If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
> For him no minstrel raptures swell;
> High though his titles, proud his name,
> Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
> Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
> The wretch, concentred all in self,
> Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
> And, doubly dying, shall go down
> To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

And such are the feelings and sentiments of our colored population, whether bond or free. It is impudent mendacity to pretend that they do not their rightful share, and, consequently, to insist upon their colonization in some foreign region. They are not only indigenous to the soil, but adhere to it with a tenacity which no form of persecution has been able to break; and none can show a better right to remain here in the unmolested enjoyment of liberty, and all its blessings. As well attempt to roll back Niagara to its source, or to cast the Alleghany mountains into the sea, as to think of driving or colonizing them out of the country. For more than forty years, the whole proscriptive force of the nation has been brought, through the American Colonization Society, to bear upon such as are nominally free, in order to get rid of them; but, during that long period, at an expenditure of millions of dollars, not more than six or eight thousand have been induced to go to Africa, notwithstanding the crushing disabilities under which they have labored. Even Hayti, a republic of their own complexion, offers generous overtures to them in vain, with a few exceptional cases. They may possibly be exterminated, but they cannot be coaxed or compelled into banishment.

2. In view of these facts, what could be more undeserved, or what more insulting, than the remark of President Lincoln to the committee whom he was addressing, "But for your race among us, there could not be a war . . . . . it is better for us both, therefore, to be separated." What a lie as legitimately as the President himself, by the creative power and will of God, what right has he to make that fact the ground of a most serious imputation against them? What have they done to bring on the bloody strife which is now raging in the land? Whom have they wronged? what outrage have they committed? whose rights have they sought to overthrow? Surely, they had no hand in plotting treason, bombarding Fort Sumter, perfidiously stabbing the government, raising violent hands upon post-offices, custom-houses, arsenals, fortifications, naval ships, and dockyards, and disowning and defying the authority of the Federal government! Why seek their banish ment, as if not that of the traitors? Is it not monstrous that, for the money in the pocket of the unsuspecting traveller, there would have been no highway robbery; and, therefore, to end such violence, he ought to direct himself of the whole race, and that no travel be safe? But it is not simply a complexional difference that is the exciting cause of social division and popular violence: these also emanate from sentiments, opinions, ideas and measures, which are regarded as fanatical and dangerous because of all-abounding corruption, though truly reformatory in their spirit and tendency. Hence, for the sake of the general tranquility, all dissenters from established usages should be persuaded or made to leave the country; else they will cause a great deal of disturbance. Such was the case with the old prophets; with Jesus and his apostles; with Luther, and Huss, and Fox, and Wesley, and their "exciting" associates. And should such, on being pressed to depart, "come to the conclusion that they have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country," Abraham Lincoln being judge, "it will be taking an extremely selfish view of the case"! Just God! what but the meanest selfishness stimulates the scheme for the removal of millions of native-born Americans to another land, solely because of the color of their skin! And what a vulgar conception it is to say of those who, natives of the soil, and loving their country as intensely as the most impassioned, choose not to exile themselves abroad for the gratification of their shameless persecutors, that they evince a selfish spirit! The very reverse of this is the truth: by maintaining their ground, hopefully and firmly, but without vindictiveness, in the midst of grinding oppression and brutal outrage, they manifest the true martyr-spirit which constitutes the redeeming power of the world, and makes saints and heroes; and inconteatibly prove their fitness, as well as their natural right, to occupy the soil upon which they stand. But there is one chivalry nothing in the breast of President Lincoln to appreciate this independent, liberty-loving, indomitable will. His education (!) with and among "the white trash" of Kentucky was most unfortunate for his moral development; so that there seems to be nothing elevated and noble in his character. Had there been, he would sooner have had the earth opened and swallowed him up, than to have made the preposterous speech he did at the White House.

3. Here is a country whose domains extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, covering an area of millions of square miles, and sufficiently capacious to contain the present population of the globe, while proudly hoasts of being the refuge of the oppressed of all nations, millions of whom have already come from the old world, and millions more are coming; for there is "ample room and verge enough" for all. How despicable, then, as well as ridiculous, the effort of President Lincoln to procure the transportation of the entire colored population, as fast as practicable (more than four he means), to a distant shore, on the ground that they are a different race"! A different race?

> "Skins may differ, but affection
> Dwells in white and black the same."

Are they not human, and is it not true that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"? A different race? What!

> "Does then th' immortal principle within
> Change with the casual color of the skin?
> Does matter work? Or is mind
> Degraded by the form to which 'tis joined?"

They no more differ from the President and his family, than do these from them; and the obligation to leave the country is no more binding upon the one party than upon the other. What if they should propose the banishment of all the Lincolns, on the ground of "race"? Would it not be deemed a very impertinent act on their part? But it would be just as decent as it is for the President to make a similar proposition to them. Mark how coolly, and with what contempt regard of all moral duties and relations, he says, "Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss"! As if everything did not depend upon the rectitude of the contemplated act! And he coolly adds, "This physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both (!), as I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence (!). In a word, we suffer on each side." What a shocking libel it was, on the part of the Great Creator, to make so great a "physical difference" in the workmanship of his hands as to lead to such disagreeable consequences! It was a conceited Castilian, we believe (or perhaps, he had not sense enough to be impious), who said, if he had been consulted at the creation of the world, he could have suggested many important improvements. Mr. Lincoln seems to take the same view of the subject. But why does he make complaint at the best of times for remaining on earth? Everybody differs from everybody else in height, bulk and looks; some are very tall and ungainly, some very short and genteel, some handsome and others ugly, some as "thin as a rail" (we intend nothing personal here), others of enormous corpulency, and so on through an endless category. Is any one of these "physical differences," more than another, a justifiable ground for colonization? The whole thing is supremely ridiculous. Besides, there are insuperable difficulties in the way of this sifting process, inasmuch as there are thousands of colored persons who are of the fairest Anglo-Saxon hue, and thousands of white persons who are of a very dark complexion. Where shall the line be drawn?

4. "You and we are a different race," says the President; and, therefore, "you" had better be off for Central America! But, for more than a century, this "physical difference" was utterly disregarded by the white race in their relations to the black. They can slave trade, who delighted to stock their plantations with undiluted negroes; and so long as the victims were held in bondage, their closest proximity excited no prejudice. It is only since they are free, being free, that makes their presence here intolerable. For if no such repugnance has been felt to them as degraded and imbruted slaves; if, on the contrary, under Fugitive Slave laws, the entire nation has vigilantly combined to hunt down every one of them for penalties; and if the dainty, chivalric sons of the South have been and continue to be suckled at the breasts of slave mothers, and amalgamation has been universal and continuous, till the original negro complexion has given place to its multitudinous instances, to a predominance of Anglo-Saxon blood; it is certain that there is no natural aversion to a black skin, and that it is nothing but negro "liberty" that is so intolerable at this time.

DO THE SLAVES WANT TO BE FREE?

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

FACTS WHICH THROW LIGHT ON THE QUESTION.

WILL the negroes leave their masters?

I see that *The Herald* of your city thinks it a great point for Gen. Hunter's policy that he does not set the negroes free. Many Abolitionists think so, too. But what the reason why more negroes do not ask passes to come North is their invincible attachment to their masters.

We are having a great deal of light from events upon this subject of late. But there is much evidence of a nature so private that it has not got into print. There is no doubt that the Southerners thought their negroes would remain safely with them during their absence. Their action at present is a proof that our disappointment has been mortifying. We all remember the contemptuous utterances of the Charleston *Mercury* on this subject. The aged editor of that paper was as kind a master as the South ever knew; his slaves were well cared for, and yet I can find no positive evidence that when, at the great fire in that city, this wealthy and distinguished citizen's house was burning down, he called vainly upon his negroes to assist in the extinguishment of the flames. With their hands folded they saw the fire raging. The old man sank from that moment into a melancholy frame of mind, which accompanied him to the day of his death, which so soon followed. He was a Northern man by birth.

The subject seems to me to be of so much importance just now that I shall venture to give some facts relating to my own father's family—though, perhaps, I should shrink from publishing matters so personal if I had not seen them printed in the public press partially mistaken accounts of the same.

My father was quite an extensive slaveholder, residing, before the war broke out, in Falmouth, a town on the Rappahannock. He was a man of honorable feeling, of strong religious principles, and with a strict sense of justice. In comparison with most of his neighbors he was the model of a master; his slaves were cared for in the tenderest manner, and had many privileges which it was not usual for slaves to have. They all resided in one of the most obscure portions of Eastern Virginia, where I could count on one hand every Northern man who had ever been in the county. On one occasion, in my boyhood, I remember Horace Greeley passed through on his way to visit the mining regions in Virginia, and though it was not known till he was gone, the sensation had been tremendous.

When the rebellion broke out I know, by private letters received, that the negroes were regarded as entirely on the Southern side. It was written: "They (the negroes) have increased their hold upon our affections by their increased devotion and loyalty to us." There is no doubt that the negroes did *seem* far more fond of enslavement than ever.

But no sooner did the United States military lines reach Fredericksburg—then every single one of my father's slaves not hired out below those lines asserted and gained his or her liberty.

Some Washington correspondents have asserted that it was suggested to them that they could and should be free. This is not true. Not a single soul put it into their minds. I for one did not dream of their leaving till they had left. They had no harsh treatment to complain of. Some of their children hired at Richmond and elsewhere had to be left. There were many hardships in the way of leaving; yet these negroes, kindly treated, untampered with, unable to read and write, leaped at their liberty as soon as it came within reach.

These negroes certify that before the advent of our army they were told that the soldiers were their worst enemies—that they would be maltreated and sent to some foreign land. This was told them by the best citizens, and created a real fear which mingled with their hope of liberty. Would it not be well if the policy of colonization to be postponed for the present, if not altogether?

In free conversation with them since, they have told me that there was never a moment when the hope of freedom was not uppermost in their minds. The food or clothing made no difference with them when freedom was in the question; that they have no doubt all the slaves have the same hope. They told me that after the battle of Bull Run the masters went into their kitchens and told them the war was over and the South victorious, and that many negroes were absolutely sick with grief, so much that they went to bed.

I should say that, among some thirty-five now in the land of freedom, there was a single one who believed it would come before he left—a man who had for many years been his master's personal attendant and companion, and was much attached to him.

Now, I do not hesitate to say that if in the neighborhood of Falmouth or Fredericksburg the question had been asked a year ago, Whose slaves will be the last to go? universal consent would have pointed to these seemingly happy ones belonging to my father. And that it would have been conceded that if they went no others could be considered secure.

You will observe that the rebel newspapers never speak of the escape of slaves. They always say: "The Yankees have stolen so many slaves from such a one." They speak of negroes *being driven* "run off." The reason is that they dread the panic which would sweep through the South if it should become universally known that the negroes were watching only for a glimpse of our banner to rush to its protection.

In view of these and many other facts hearing on the same point, I venture to give the President a piece of purely military advice. It is not important, because he has announced that he is not a military man. Of course I could not take upon my conscience the unpardonable sin of supposing that a military General—a graduate of West Point, for example—can be advised in any particular. This is the advice I would give Sprague, his colored regiment to Alabama. Then let Gen. Hunter send his First South Carolina Regiment, and Gov. Sprague send his, into regions *utterly unattractive*—regions untraversed by any roads leading to populous, ammunition-houses, or forts—points which the rebels would never dream of defending: let these colored regiments go forth into the deserted heart and forests of those States, their singing be heard up and down in the hot valleys they can find. The black faces of those regiments will be welcome enough. Like snowballs accumulating as they roll, those regiments would swell so presently that the rumor would strike through the rebel ranks like a shell, "The niggers are coming!" men, women, and children; not a word of this would be true, Mr. President, any more than the reports in the Baltimore and Richmond papers that John Brown with several hundred thousand men was marching on the Susquehanna; but think how fine it would be to see those fellows scampering a way from Richmond and Vicksburg to defend their homes from the great negro army! Gen. McClellan might then cry "shoulder arms!" and move straight into Richmond. All the rebellion needs is a strong counter irritant; a blister-plaster of colored regiments on the back would draw finely, and your proclamation to the rebels *in disgrace* would suddenly have a new significance in their eyes.

COLORED MEN AND THE WAR.

From The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.

THE following comes to us from a colored man, as the report of the proceedings of a meeting of colored men held in this city on the subject of their employment in the prosecution of the war. It is peculiar in some particulars, but we have no doubt that it is a faithful report of the arguments pro and con. The subject is of sufficient interest at this time to justify us in publishing it as some indication of the feelings of colored men, who would be willing to fight for the country if permitted, as to the position which they occupy in a controversy that is bitterly contested among the whites. Here it is:

At a private meeting of leading colored men of this city, held on Wednesday evening, the 13th inst., at the house of Mr. ——, in Pine street, the Rev. Mr. —— was called to the chair, and Prof. —— was appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting was stated to be to consider the propriety of colored people leaving their own State of Pennsylvania to enlist as soldiers in the United States service, in the event of their doing so, then should be time, to deliberate on the project of taking immediate steps for the enrollment of all able-bodied colored men between the ages of 18 and 45.

It was resolved by the parties present now at work in this State enlisting colored recruits for Gov. Sprague's regiment in Rhode Island; that a Mr. C——h, of Montgomery County, had already a roll of sixty four names, the understanding being that when he should have completed his company he was to be the captain; that a Mr. Z——l, in Chester County and another party, not named, in this city, were similarly at work, with a like understanding. The question on which the meeting was asked that movement be encouraged or discouraged, or allowed to take its own course? The gentleman opening the case gave it as his opinion that the movement should be discouraged, and that immediate measures should be taken to prevent it. He had no doubt of its best black militia to promote the honor and glory of other States. We owe it to ourselves as Pennsylvanians and as men not to let ourselves be used for the glory and renown of other States or strangers to us, and who have no interest in us.

Mr. W—— did not concur in the views just expressed. The subject was new to him, and he had not time or opportunity to come to a deliberate judgment upon it; but as at present advised he was inclined to encourage rather than discourage any who might be disposed to enlist under Gov. Sprague. I honor, said Mr. W., that bold man for the stand he has taken. Gov. Sprague used to be a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and now comes out in the face of the public, and in the face of the government, and calls for a black regiment. I honor him for it, and I say if any man inclines to go to Rhode Island, and enlist under his flag, in God's name let him go. If I was not so old, I think I would go myself.

Mr. Chairman, I am a Pennsylvanian, bred and born, but I have none of that false pride which people talk about. It has all been knocked out of me. Why should the colored Pennsylvanian have any false pride? How have we been treated? I don't go back to old times, when the pro-slavery party was in power. I go back only to the beginning of this war. How have we been treated? The Pennsylvania colored people of this city shared in the universal feeling after the firing upon Fort Sumter, and would have shared in the universal uprising if they had been allowed to. They forgot the past, and began to organize and drill, tendering their services to aid in the country, but their offer was spurned in advance. They were given to understand that the Governor of the State would not accept them. It was even stated in the papers that the Governor would not allow black troops from the East nor from Canada to pass through the State. I know not what authority there may have been for these statements, but I do know that they were never authoritatively denied. As a consequence, three companies of the best men, personal knowledge, were being organized in this city, were disbanded. One of these companies had been drilling with muskets, but Gen. Patterson, or Mayor Henry, or somebody, sent and took the muskets away from them, and after being thus snubbed and scorned, I am pretty well cured of my State pride, and my city pride, too. I say, therefore, if any one feels disposed to join the regiment which Gov. Sprague is getting up, in God's name let him go.

Mr. J. W.—I would like to ask if it is a certain matter of fact that there are now agents actually at work in this State recruiting for the Rhode Island regiment?

The CHAIR—I believe it is, sir; at any rate it has been so stated by persons who ought to know.

Mr. J. W.—Then, Mr. Chairman, I am favor of it. Why should we wait for a time that may never come? It has been said that Gov. Curtin will probably be compelled, by public sentiment, to move in this matter. That's a matter we don't know anything about it; that's in the future. But, in Rhode Island, it seems the time has already come. Gov. Sprague has the manliness to face a pro-slavery public and a Border-State-fearing Executive, and to announce his purpose to enroll a black regiment for the service of his country? Why should we not help him all we can? Why should his movement be discouraged? What harm can it do us as a people, or our State as a State? What are the reasons for discouraging such a movement as this? For my part, I have never heard none. I would like to hear from gentlemen on the other side of this question.

The CHAIR—Brethren! speak your minds; let us have both sides. That's what we are here for.

Brother W——R—The brethren are looking to you for some strong arguments against joining Gov. Sprague. Let us hear both sides.

Mr. W——R—I am willing to lift my voice against this movement, but I am waiting first to hear something like an argument in its favor. I have heard nothing yet that amounts to an argument. Spouting, is not argument. Mr. Chairman, why should we leave our State to go to another State to enlist? Going to Rhode Island just to march from there to the war won't make us citizens of Rhode Island. We have already little position we have. Why are we here to go to another State where we have none at all? And if we go away from here who will look after our families? It won't be the place of Pennsylvania to do so, neither will it be the place of Rhode Island to do so. Sir, I am for waiting till a move is made in our own State. Let us enroll and be ready. I know they don't want us just yet, but the time is coming when they will be glad to have us.

Mr. F.—It is said, "of two evils, choose the least." *Of two goods, choose the best.* Now, Mr. Chairman, it certainly is a good thing to have a chance to serve as a soldier under Gov. Sprague, but if we can have the same chance here in Pennsylvania, it will be a greater good. I believe the time is very near when the black man can be a soldier in this State. I don't believe the President is as much opposed to black soldiers as he lets on to be. I have reason to believe that if a committee was appointed to wait on Gov. Curtin and urge on him the duty of accepting a black regiment, he would be favorably disposed.

Mr. J. W.—Have you any positive information on that subject?

Mr. F.—No, sir, I have no personal information on the subject, but I know that a great change has been going on in the public mind, and I have reason to believe that Gov. Curtin's mind has undergone the change that other people's have. And if we want is a few more reverses, and the change will be complete. Only let us have a few more reverses ("We'll have them soon enough—that's so"), and Gov. Curtin and President Lincoln, too, will be calling on the black man for help, whom they now despise, to come to the help of the white man.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that these reverses are God's judgments on this people for their sins. God is saying to this nation, and said to Pharaoh, "Let my people go." Pharaoh would not hear God's voice, and God sent plagues; our Pharaohs won't hear God's voice, and God has sent us reverses; and, sir, we have had "Bull Runs" and "Ball's Bluffs," and "Merrimac rams" and "Arkansas rams," and all sorts of rams, till our Pharaohs will hearken to the voice of God.

Mr. Chairman, I think that this State is coming all right. I think that if a committee will wait on Gov. Curtin, he will be found favorably disposed.

Mr. B.—I agree with the last speaker, that we ought, of two good things, to choose the best. But if there be a third good that is still better, we ought to choose it. And it is a good thing to fight under Gov. Sprague; it would be better to fight under the banners of our own State; but there is something else still better, and going on Mr. F.'s principle, I should be for choosing that.

Mr. M.—What's that?

Mr. B.—That I am not at liberty to say now. All I have to say at present is, that I think it a better plan to enlist under the banners of our own State, if we are permitted to do so, than to go to another State.

Mr. M.—Mr. Chairman, I don't see the force of the arguments against leaving the State. I incline to the opinion that it would be a good thing. I want to see Gov. Sprague's movements made as complete as Moses. I hope he will be able to raise a regiment of picked men, men who will do honor to the colored people of the country. I believe it would have a great effect. It would have a tendency to help the colored men. Let Gov. Sprague march a model regiment of colored men through Broadway, New York, and through Chestnut street, Philadelphia, and the effect would be wonderful. It would hurry up Gov. Curtin, and put the people of Pennsylvania to shame. The whites would begin to ask each other—Why can't this be done in Pennsylvania? Why should our best colored men go to another State? The whites of pro-slavery proclivities would begin to ask—Why are our husbands drafted, who don't want to go, and these colored people, who *do* want to go, allowed to stay at home?

Mr. Chairman, as a Pennsylvanian I want this movement to succeed. I think it would be a good thing for this State.

Other speakers expressed themselves at length on the subject; some in favor of enlisting in the Rhode Island regiment, and others against it. Among these were Mr. W——n, Mr. G——m, Mr. H——r, Mr. W——n and Prof. G——n. No action was come to, except the passage of a resolution declaring, *first*, the expediency of appointing a committee to wait upon the Governor of the State for the purpose of offering the services of the colored people, but of ascertaining what were the intentions of the government in regard to this class of the population; and, *second*, the propriety of taking immediate steps for the enrollment of all the able-bodied colored men of the State. The meeting then adjourned till the 18th inst.

THE "STRAIGHT" WAY THE BEST.

From The Evening Post.

THE following letter is from a well-known merchant of Cincinnati, who has spent some time in New Orleans, and who writes from an actual knowledge of affairs in the South-west:

NEW ORLEANS, August 9, 1862.

To the Editors of The Evening Post.

I ask the privilege of a little space in your widely-circulated paper in which to say a few words to your readers on my own responsibility, you to dissent emphatically as you please, if you think me ultra-*Conservatism*, as understood in the South, is a hateful term to all intelligent men who are really loyal to the United States government.

Here we are with a handful of soldiers who could not hold this city a week but for the war vessels which could reach and sweep away any invading force, or destroy the place in a few hours, if internal foes should rise to drive out or murder us. Our brave men at Baton Rouge have just repulsed a force greatly superior in number under the perjured traitor Breckinridge, but at a loss, I have reason to believe, much greater than that indicated in the public papers.

Secessionists who sit with me at table, and who, I believe, aside from the political gulf that separates us, are my friends, assure me that New Orleans will be abandoned by the rebel army without the least hope of holding it against our fleet, but to produce the destruction of the city. Though the report is almost too infernal to believe, they assert positively that the Confederate authorities would rather see the city in ashes than in the hands of their foes, that much of their property are carefully packed by the Federal authorities, than allow it to remain under the peaceful control of the United States government.

We barely hold this city and Baton Rouge. All the rest of the State is completely or in part controlled by the rebels, who are becoming more and more troublesome and bitter, and who now often fire upon our transports passing to and fro between the several points on the coast where sugars and molasses could have been safely exchanged for pork, flour, etc., early in June, soon after I came here, the planters are now afraid to have any dealings with Unionists, and durst not even attempt to ship their sugars to this city for fear of bringing upon themselves the vengeance of the guerillas, the rebel Governor Moore's police force, who roam along the coast enforcing his non-intercourse proclamation.

This brings me to the questions which I wish to ask and answer. Why is it that we have lost ground here during the months that we have held this city, instead of "cleaning out" the State, opening the Mississippi to the commerce of the North-west (a just debt to the loyal, self-sacrificing people of that section) and the surrounding country to the trade of this city?

Why is it that we have not now a large army of acclimated, hardy, willing soldiers before which the Confederate traitors would flee as though his Satanic Majesty were at their heels? The only and truthful answer to these questions that I have discovered is, pro-slavery, sectional prejudices against our almost only friends in the South, and our fear of irritating the rebels. These suicidal prejudices and silly, cowardly fears, have held us back from the only consistent, effective course, and the only one by which any other nation under heaven, if similarly situated, would have adopted; that which simple, common sense indicated, and (I believe) the only course that the Almighty will prosper.

Why is it irritating to those who are in arms against our government, and who now hate us up to the boiling point, is the most sickening and senseless excuse for sacrificing the lives of our sons and friends, and spending hundreds of millions of property in defence of that which caused the war, that one could dream of. It would be good policy even, to raise the intensity of their feverish hatred still higher, because it would consume them the sooner.

Why is it that we have not now a large army of colored men, who would be willing to fight for secret traitors, North or South, of the slaves as a class being unfriendly to us and willing to fight for the Confederates, they are all false from beginning to end. There are free colored men, some of whom own slaves, and sympathize with the Confederates; and a trustworthy person here assures me that the rebels have raised a company of three hundred "yellow girls" in preference to white soldiers when arms were scarce, that they might have them as an example to boast of.

The slaves notwithstanding the unnumbered falsehoods they hear of us from their masters and the rebels all around them, turn to all they know to be friends of the United States government, as a general rule, almost as uniformly as a drove of thirsty cattle or sheep would turn to a cooling stream of pure water.

Let no one suppose that I plead for or favor slave insurrections. Far be it from me; but I have long been decidedly in favor of using *all* our friends, without regard to color or former condition, under good military discipline, to exterminate treason in this country and to protect the families and property of rebels and others, which will be destroyed by the guerilla raids of the enemy, if they are permitted to go long without the halter. I will only add that some who came with me from the North, entertaining views of war policy quite in opposition to mine, are most decidedly favor arming the slaves and adopting a stern and unsparing policy throughout.

Respectfully, etc., S. STRAIGHT.

P. S. In stating my views thus emphatically, let no one misunderstand me as censuring the Executive. The Administration cannot go beyond or act indefinitely in advance of the people on whom it has support, and I am well aware that a large majority of those who profess to reveal public sentiment, especially in the North-west, have vehemently opposed accepting the slaves and arming them, and have favored the careful *protection* of the "peculiar institution." We are now reaping the legitimate fruits of such a policy. S. S.

OFFER OF BLISS TO AN OPPRESSED RACE.

[Our readers will appreciate the following travesty of a certain speech, lately delivered in a high quarter. It is from *The Sunday Mercury* of this city.]

THE other day, I went down to Accomac again, to see the General of the Black Brigade, who had invited me to be present while he made an offer of bliss to a delegation from that oppressed race which has been the sole cause of this unnatural war, and is, therefore, exempted from all concern in it.

I got there in time to find myself in his temporary room of audience when I arrived, examining a map of the Border States through a powerful magnifying glass, and occasionally looking into a tumbler, as though he expected to find something there.

"Well, old Hunter," said I, "what is our next scheme for the benefit of the human race?"

He smiled paternally upon me, and says he:

"It is my purpose to settle the Negro Question in accordance with the principles laid down in the Book of Exodus. Thunder!" says the General, with magisterial emphasis, "if we do not secure the pursuit of happiness to the slave even, we violate the Constitution and become obnoxious to Border communities."

I was refreshed to find this remark, my boy, and wondering what the Constitution had to do with the Book of Exodus, when the delegation made its appearance, and caused the room to darken perceptibly. At the head, I noticed, was a man I had known for the visitors to be located, and, in fact, to

"You and we are different races, and for this reason it must be evident to you, as well as to myself, that it is better you should be voluntarily compelled to emigrate to some more congenial clime. There is a wide difference between our races: much wider, perhaps, than that which exists between any other two races. Your race suffers very greatly, and our race suffers in suffering your race to suffer. In a word, we both suffer from an equality which our race should not suffer your race to remain here any longer. You who are here will be content to suppose."

A VOICE—"Yes, sah."

"Perhaps you have not been here all your lives. Your race is suffering the greatest wrong that ever was; but when you cease to suffer, your sufferings are still far from an equality with our sufferings. Our white men are now changing their base operations daily, and often taking Malvern Hills. This is on your account. You are the cause of it. How you have caused it I will not attempt to explain, for I do not know; but it is better for us both to be separated, and it is vilely selfish in you (I do not speak unkindly) to wish to remain here in preference to going to Nova Zembla. The fact that we have always oppressed you when you were plainly willing to be oppressed, we reflect upon the fact that you have never shown resistance. A trip on your part to Nova Zembla will benefit both races. I cannot promise you much bliss right away. You may starve at first, or die on the passage; but in the revolutions laid down in Washington lived exclusively on the future. He was benefitting his race; and though I do not see much similarity between his case and yours, you had better go to Nova Zembla. The particular place to which I refer is a beautiful island in the great highway between the North pole and Sir John Franklin's supposed grave. It is a popular route of travel, being much frequented by the facetious penguin and the flowing seal. It has great resources for ice-water, and you will be able to have your coffee cool, if provided you supply yourselves with the essence of lemon and patent freezers. As to other food, I can promise you nothing. There are fine harbors on all sides of this place, and though you may see no ships here, it will be all some years before it is found that you have such admirable harbors. Again, there is evidence of very rich bear-hunting. When you take your wives and families to a place where there is no land to be cultivated, nor any place for them to live in, the human mind would be naturally turn to bear-hunting as to anything else. But if you should die of starvation at the outset, even bear-hunting may dwindle into insignificance. Why I attach so much importance to bear-hunting is, that it will be an opportunity to die more easily than by famine and exposure. Bear-hunting is the best thing I know of under such circumstances.

You are intelligent, and know that human life depends as much upon those who possess it as upon anybody else. And much will depend upon yourselves if you go to Nova Zembla. As to the bear-hunting, I think I see the means available for engaging you in that very soon without injury to ourselves. I wish to spend a little money to get you there, and may possibly lose it all; but we cannot expect to succeed in anything if we are not successful in it.

The political affairs of Nova Zembla are not in quite such a condition as I could wish, the bears having occasional fights there, over the body of the last Esquimaux governor; but these bears are more generous than we are. They have no objection to dining upon the colored race.

Besides, I would endeavor to have you made equals, and have the best assurance that you should be equals of the best. The practical thing I want to ascertain is, whether I can get a certain number of able-bodied men to send to a place offering such encouragement and attractions. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, to partake of all this bliss? Can I have fifty? If I had twenty-five able-bodied men, properly seasoned with women and children, I could make a commencement. These are subjects of very great importance, and worthy a month's study of the great nation under heaven, if similarly situated, would have adopted; that which simple, common sense indicated, and (I believe) the only course that the Almighty will prosper.

Why is it irritating to those who are in arms against our government, and who now hate us up to the boiling point, is the most sickening and senseless excuse for sacrificing the lives of our sons and friends, and spending hundreds of millions of property in defence of that which caused the war, that one could dream of. It would be good policy even, to raise the intensity of their feverish hatred still higher, because it would consume them the sooner.

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THE NEGROES IN KANSAS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

LAWRENCE, Monday, Aug. 11, 1862.

WHEN I came into this place, a few days ago, I was startled by the clouds of contrabands that met my view. Lawrence has been a sort of Mecca for these poor people, and they have flocked here in great numbers, with every hope of the freedom in full bloom, and confident of protection at the hands of their friends. Nor are they wrong. The people of Lawrence, as well as of all Kansas, are true to the noble sentiments which inspire them in their contest with despotism, and have by no means forgotten the dark days when *they* were hunted by the same bloodhounds now on the track of the fugitive black man.

In the welcome that Kansas gives the negro I think there is a good deal of self-denial. Its people have never been negro-lovers. In fact they generally desire that the blacks shall stay away, and this irruption of fugitives is, in a personal point of view, anything but pleasant. As I walked through Massachusetts street and saw the cheering and kindly part way through the dusky crowds that filled the sidewalks, I could discover the real feeling of the people to be that this anomalous emigration was a nuisance. Negroes are everywhere in white settlements. The whole face speaks of negroes, feels of negroes, smells of negroes. They fill to overflowing all the hovels of the town, and literally swarm in the sheds and stables intended for the use of other animals, and are so truly chivalric in the impulses of the citizens here, that, although they sympathize with the disagreeable consequences of this influx, yet nothing can be kinder or more patient than the treatment given to them. The poor creatures who have thus complimented them with their confidence in their generosity. I am sure that four-fifths of Lawrence would hail the voluntary departure of the negroes with acclamation; and yet, if any one there would propose to drive them out, a mob of at least every citizen would cry out in indignation. As to kidnappers, and such like gentry, you may rest assured that it would be better for Jeff. Davis to go alone than for McClellan's camp than for one of those individuals to venture a turn at his trade in Lawrence.

The negroes, too, are behaving well. Many of them are shiftless and idle; how can it be otherwise, when the sole object of their existence is uncertain prospects? But, in the main, they do their best. Most of their work, in their way; they seem honest, and are overflowing with good nature. The hotels, where they act as servants, waiters, grooms, etc., echo, from morning till night, with the roars of laughter and the contagious laughter. Lucky for the inmates if the night itself does not bear impressive testimony to the irrepressible hilarity of their dispositions.

I shall not suppose that Lawrence the only town whose population has thus been augmented. All the rest have increased in a greater or less degree; and in many instances the rural districts have thus been in part repaid for their contributions to the arms of the Republic.

THE BLACK REGIMENT AT HILTON HEAD.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

HILTON HEAD, S. C., Aug. 15, 1862.

THE disbandment of the colored regiment, known as the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, by Gen. Hunter, may appear mysterious; but nothing is capable of a more easy or straightforward solution. Gen. Hunter would not sanction the Abolition policy of the government steadily in refusing any direct recognition of this organization—thus keeping its men without pay, its officers without commissions, and the whole responsibility of the movement sadded on Gen. Hunter alone. Governor Brown, of Ohio, did indirectly recognize these colored soldiers, sending arms for their use, innumerable pairs of scarlet pantaloons, and also promoting Capt. Fessenden, one of Gen. Hunter's Aids, who commanded them, to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, all of which Gen. Wool. But no applications, however earnest, could induce the cautious authorities to express an opinion in writing, either one way or the other, with regard to the propriety of Gen. Hunter's course. They seemed, not to put too fine a point upon it, to be willing that Gen. Hunter should incur the whole odium and responsibility, pecuniarily and otherwise, of the movement; while they, without risk, should reap the political benefit were it to result. Apart from the toleration of this new idea among the extreme wing of the Republican party. "Do we not tolerate Hunter? Have we not supplied them with clothing, shoes and breeches? Have we not furnished him the use of arms and accourrements for his regiment? He has told us that he expects to have 50,000 of these loyal men in the field before next Christmas, and that he can have them there is no doubt. What more can you, gentlemen, who are in favor of arming the blacks, desire?" Such has been steadily the position of our authorities—a sufficiently contemptible and paltry one to win the entire approbation of every sympathizer. But now see the other side of the picture:

By the foregoing arrangement, soldiers of the black brigade could not be mustered into the service, and consequently could not be paid. Their officers were without commissions, and consequently without legitimate authority. Neither men nor officers were amenable to any tribunal, nor to any code of law, military or otherwise. No court-martial could take cognizance of any offence committed by the regiment; and the officers, while wearing the uniform of their nominal grades, were liable to insult and ignorement at the hands of every pro-slavery subaltern, or even private, duly mustered into Uncle Sam's service. Consequently, you may object to the appointment of non-commissioned officers, selected with a special view to their capacity from the white regiments at this post; but they were without commissions, and in consequence, held the anomalous position of enlisted men, doing volunteers, wearing the uniform and claiming the salutes of duly commissioned officers.

Add to the foregoing, that for every dollar's worth of public property irregularly issued to the colored regiment, there was a personally responsible party, and that, beyond doubt, should the pro

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial [illegible] of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing [illegible], or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

STRANGE OMISSION.—We have received a letter enclosing Four Dollars, in which the writer asks us to send him for [illegible] advertised in THE [illegible] of [illegible] 19, and inquires if we will send our paper for [illegible] to the count of six persons. He does not tell us how to appropriate the money he sends, and his letter neither gives us the name of the writer or of the place where he lives. The postmark, moreover, is utterly illegible, and we are thus left without any clue to the writer. He is probably a subscriber to THE STANDARD, and the money enclosed is probably intended to pay his subscription for two years. We publish this notice, hoping that it may meet his eye and lead to a disclosure of his name and place of residence.

THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN has taken the unusual step, but the very proper one in the unusual circumstances of the country, to define his position in reply to a demand to that effect from the Editor of *The Tribune*. It is what we had always believed that it must be. We never expected that he would interfere with the system of slavery, existing under the Constitution, excepting as a military necessity to maintain that Constitution and the Union of which it is the compact. A President of the United States, under an oath to support that Constitution, is not to be expected to act upon motives of mere morality and humanity. In a certain political sense it may be said that he has no *right* to do so. The work laid out for him to do, and to abstain from, is clearly written out in the Constitution which is his Commission from the People, as their Chief Magistrate. It is for this reason that the members of the American Anti Slavery Society, and those that agree with them in sentiment, have been prevented from helping in the appointment of any such Officer. They could not appoint him to do things they held to be immoral, and to refrain from doing things which commended themselves to their understanding as the simplest of moral duties. We have never asked the President to violate his oath of office. We have never complained of his refusal to interfere with slavery, provided the Union could be preserved and the objects of the Constitution, aside from the guarantees given in it to slavery, carried into effect. It was his business to restore the Union, if it were a possible thing, without touching slavery in any way. We only would humbly submit that fifteen months of time, a thousand million of money and two hundred thousand lives are price enough for the experiment he has been trying, and that it is time he essayed a new form of treatment for the disorders of his land.

Cruel and bitter as has been this cost, the country has submitted to it, if not without complaint, certainly without resistance. What the loyal part of the nation now ask, is, whether the time past has not been sufficient for this way of trying to cure the ills we have, and whether it has not failed signally enough to make it the part of wisdom to attempt another. We say the loyal part of the nation, for we believe that there is now scarcely a diversity of opinion among men of all former political affinities, that the only way of escape for the sovereignty of the nation from overthrow is through the gate of Emancipation. The scarcely concealed traitors, spread everywhere over the land, are clamorous for the preservation of slavery, because they wish for such a humiliation of the North as shall end in a reconstruction of the Union securing the permanent dominion of the slaveholders. Mr. Lincoln disclaims sympathy for this class as well as for those who would regard the restoration of the Union with slavery untouched as a calamity rather than as a blessing. We do not find fault with him, standing under the obligations he has chosen to take upon himself, for the principles on which he has acted thus far. We would only entreat him to consider whether the time has not come when other principles must be brought in play, or the ruin of the nation risked? Nay, whether the accepted time and the day of salvation may not have glided away before long, and made an act which would have been sublime and effectual if done in season, only ridiculous and futile, if delayed till the ripeness of time was passed? We know that the doctrine that the protection of slavery is the one great ruling principle of the Constitution and the single object of the Union, has been so assimilated into the very blood and bone of this people, that it is like the parting of body and soul to eliminate it. Nothing but such a convulsion as we are now passing through could have forced the idea that we can exist without that great sovereign principle of slave-mastership, for us as well as the slaves, upon men possible to be Presidents. Probably only the fact that Mr. Lincoln was not a politician by profession, can account for the phenomenon that he could conceive of the bold idea that if he could "save the Union by freeing all the slaves," he would do it! Such a mind may be capable of perceiving that nothing else can do it. And it is the business of all good men that love their country, and of all honest presses, to try and convince him of this truth while it is yet day. For the night cometh!

The main policy of the last fifteen or sixteen months has been to have as little as possible to do with the negro, and to show him and his master that we could do without him. What has been the result? A year of average defeat—of chronic defeat everywhere where the help of the navy and the gunboats could not be had, and in the Peninsula in spite of all the aid they could give. We have possession of New Orleans and Norfolk, but of scarce a mile beyond their limits, while not only Richmond but Charleston and Savannah are as far from our possession as they were a year ago. The enemy which we then really despised, we can no longer affect to contemn, though we must detest them. Instead of falling to pieces, as we had been told they would, and their army dispersing and crumbling away, and what could be held together useless for want of arms and munitions of war, what do we see? An army equal to ours in numbers and discipline, as well armed, inspired by indomitable hatred and under the command of a man of great military genius, in whom his troops have enthusiastic confidence, and who has enthusiastic confidence in himself. Instead of the intestine divisions among the Southern States, which we had reasonably anticipated from the notorious jealousies and ill-blood existing among them, they present an undivided and unbroken front towards us. No treason and no traitors to their cause are permitted to exist in their dominions. Jefferson Davis has gathered into his hand the passions, the energies, the resources of his Confederacy, and is hurling them at us with the skill and force of consummate statecraft. It cannot be denied that we have been outgeneralled, and that the policy on which the war has been conducted thus far has been a failure. Washington is at this moment in greater danger than Richmond, and fervent as may be our hope, we think no one can entertain a confident belief, that the great battle which impends, if it be not fought before these words are printed, shall be decided in favor of our arms. The policy of repressing the negro, of protecting rebels in the enjoyment of his services, of delivering him up to torture and death, of driving him from our camps and refusing the help he has always been ready to give us, has been no more successful than our efforts in the field. Is it not worth while to try, while there is yet time, some other line of conduct towards them? The President has tried "to save the Union without freeing any slaves," and has failed; is it not time to see what effect "freeing some," if not "all," would have?

We all see plainly enough now that we have erred in our estimate of our enemy's strength. We have not been so ourself, for we stated more than a twelvemonth since (July 6, 1861) precisely what has come to pass. Slavery, far from being an element of weakness, has been one of strength to them through our mistaken tenderness towards them in that matter. It has enabled them to call into the field every able-bodied man from sixteen to thirty-five, now to be enlarged by including those from fourteen to fifty. Although our white population is so much more than theirs, they have thus far been able to bring nearly if not quite man for man into the field, with us, and can do so, as long as we leave them their slaves to supply them with food and with trench-workmen. As long as the master can, with the reason they can justly show, make the slaves believe that we are no more their friends than they are themselves, the old men and boys are enough to keep them in order. They know that insurrection is vain as long as both parties are determined that order shall reign on the plantation. The very quietude of the slaves, under the circumstances, is a proof of their intelligence and capacity for doing what is best for themselves. A proclamation of emancipation to all such slaves as should seek our lines, or report themselves anywhere to a U. S. official, would cut the ground from under the feet of the rebels. At least it would six months ago. They have been taking precautions to meet this very emergency, and who can say that they will not be effectual? But that no other possible remedy is sufficient for our distemper we believe to be now the deliberate opinion of all intelligent and honest lovers of the Union, of all who love their country more than they do slavery. We believe the President to be one of these. We only fear that he may delay applying the cure until the patient is dead. For recognition on the part of Europe is near, unless warded off by prompt and effectual measures, and intervention would not be long in following. The blockade broken, the cotton now on hand would infuse into the veins of the Confederacy a stream of gold, giving it strength and energy which it would be hard for us to match. It is mortifying to ask the slave to come to our help, after we have so long helped in his wronging, but without it we are sure to perish.

FLUCTUATION.

THE present state of this nation is precisely that melancholy and hopeless state described and condemned by an apostle—"like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed." We are the sport of circumstances. No shuttlecock was ever more at the mercy of alternate opposing forces than we; and this, strange to say, in the transaction of a business which, more than any other, requires purpose, energy, decision of character and unity of action. We are not agreed even in making a successive trial of two diverse methods; a process which might enlighten us by showing one or the other to be preferable. We go on trying both methods at the same time, and letting each counteract the other. One officer surrenders fugitive slaves to men who pretend loyalty; another surrenders them to those who avow treason; another sets them at work, leaving it doubtful whether they are ever to be paid, and even whether they are not to be surrendered at last; another offers them liberty, and arms wherewith to defend it; and the President, whose business it is to direct all these functionaries into some one course which shall tend toward the general welfare, sometimes encourages and sometimes checks each of these various movements, leaving all in a state of deplorable and disastrous confusion.

"Let not that man think," says the apostle, "that he shall receive anything of the Lord." Not the wished, but the needed thing, he will surely receive; a deserved and painful retribution.

Several of our Generals have tried, from time to time, to encourage and assist black men, slave and free, to take their natural part in this war against their enemy, and ours. The President has, thus far, by his individual will, counteracted and nullified all such movements. And the management of our affairs, up to this point, justifies the fear that even if colored regiments should be formed in free States, they would not be accepted by the government; nay, that if a white regiment should be so formed as, from Colonel to drummer, to wish to operate against the *cause* of the war, it would be placed under a command, or assigned to a station, where such wishes could not be gratified. As to individual officers and soldiers, many a one, entering the army with a heart full of loyalty for his country, and earnestly desirous at once to save and to purify it, has found himself a tool of slavery instead of a soldier of freedom; has found himself prevented from striking at the root of the rebellion, and required to use absurd precaution, in pruning away its last year's growth, not to impair its germinant powers. And, strangest of all, these provisions of indulgence to the enemy continue to be enforced while we are growing relatively less prosperous and our mortal foe more prosperous. What but defeat can naturally follow such a policy? What can forbearance accomplish, with an enemy who assumes (and really believes) that forbearance indicates cowardice?

The last move of the President, besides being morally objectionable in various ways (we will touch here on but one aspect of it), is singularly ill-timed, being suited to aggravate, rather than diminish, our present troubles. Most of the colored people in this country, slave and free, were born here, and feel that preference for their native land which men are accustomed to feel. In past years, Southern and Northern haters of this race devised a plan to send out of the country those of them who were not wanted as slaves, and they have annually, up to the present time, been persuading some, and forcing others, to emigrate to Liberia. This "Colonization scheme" has so manifestly shown itself coupled with the slaveholding interest, that the colored people generally regard its advocates as unfriendly and unworthy of trust; and neither persuasion nor compulsion has yet succeeded in drawing many of them into connection with the Liberian colony. They see and feel that the "pity" expressed by the Colonization agent for their unfortunate condition in this country is nearer akin to contempt than to love. They prefer to wait here for a possible "good time coming," rather than try the unhealthy coast of Africa, or any foreign coast whatever. Their feeling, like ours, is—"This is my own, my native land."

Now, just at the moment when it has become immensely important to us to conciliate this colored race, to attach them to our interests by a manifestation of practical good-will on our part, the President formally calls upon them to notice that he has adopted the "Colonization scheme." He proposes to them to leave their native land and go somewhere else; and gives, as a reason, that the white people, who are natives of it just as much as they and no more, dislike their neighborhood. He urges the same impalatable thing, and gives the same bad reason for it, as their old enemies of the Colonization Society.

What a moment to make such a proposition! It was always our duty to do justice and offer friendship to this colored race, but now it has become our most urgent necessity. We need, above all, to detach them from their masters, our enemies, and this can be done only by attaching them to ourselves. We need to stop the working in field and fort which they now compulsorily do for the rebels, and to gain both forms of that labor for the relief and advantage of our own soldiers. We need a portion of them trained in the use of arms to reënforce or replace our own troops garrisoned at the South, when the summer sickness shall have thinned their ranks. We need others of them as soldiers, to march with our armies on all their Southern routes, as a testimony to those yet enslaved that they will find welcome and protection among us. And when, by their help, the rebellion shall have been crushed, and we are to enter on the difficult work of *holding* the conquered districts, we want them as the nucleus of a loyal population; as holders, in part, of the lands which they have hitherto tilled, and on which their labor is still needed; and as allies of our soldiers and other Northern men who shall settle there upon bounty lands, against attempts of the pro-slavery oligarchy to regain the power which they will have lost.

In all these aspects we have urgent need of these men, to say nothing of the duty of reparation to them for past injuries. What a moment for the head of the nation to offer them insult and injury in one proposition!

But, greatly as the President has been, and is, in fault, the disease and the danger lie deeper still. The people themselves remain blind, both to the danger and the remedy. If the disbanding of Hunter's negro regiments at Port Royal, and the cause of it, be truly reported—if the white soldiers at that station have pursued a course of insult and annoyance to the black ones which prevents their General from completing his judicious and much needed experiment—then our affairs have received a new and yet more threatening complication.

What act of more suicidal folly can be imagined than the repulsion of numerous volunteers, who eagerly offer themselves at the seat of war, at the very moment when a draft is imperatively required in the more distant parts of the country by the discouraging aspect of the volunteer system there?

When men stationed in an enemy's country, with numbers gradually lessening from disease, with a considerable part of the sickly season yet before them, with diminishing probability of adequate reënforcement from any other quarter, and with increasing probability of being by and by outnumbered by a hostile force, repel with deliberate insult the offer of help by thousands of able-bodied and acclimated men, what words less strong than *suicidal folly* can express the character of such an act?

When the President, long ago, made his amazingly liberal offer of compensation to any slave State, rebel or loyal, which would commence an "abolishment" of slavery, he coupled with the offer an intimation that, in failure of this, other and more stringent means would be adopted. Months have passed by, and the bribe and the threat have alike been contemptuously disregarded. Many Northern people are thinking that, the throwing of grass having failed, it is time to throw stones; time, at least, to announce what is the more stringent measure contemplated in his threat. If the necessities of the country justified, in the President's view, the disbursement of a sum of money sufficient to buy the slaves, they would surely justify, when that money is refused, a Proclamation of Freedom, and the means of carrying it into effect; and these means, far simpler and cheaper than our present ineffective ones, would be merely a reception of such blacks as shall be found fit for military service into the ranks of our army, and a succession of movements, under their guidance, to those numerous Southern localities where half the population would at once, and with alacrity, join the Federal forces. But, if these eager volunteers are to be told, first, that they shall not be trusted with arms, and next, that they are not wanted in the country at all, how is the President to fulfill his threat? When these natural allies shall have become alienated by our arrogance, and distrustful of our good purposes, by whom are they to be replaced? Can we afford to throw away friends and opportunities at a single stroke?

How long yet will the lamp hold out to burn? To us it seems as if our possibilities of success were fast waning. If they all are allowed to pass unimproved, our prophets, who have faithfully repeated the earlier warnings of their Hebrew predecessors, must take up also their final wail, and cry—"Oh! Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself!"

THE REBELS AFRAID OF BLACK SOLDIERS.

THAT the enlistment of black soldiers in the Union army would be a blow struck at the very heart of the Rebellion is evident from the alarm manifested at the South, under the apprehension that the measure is likely to be adopted. The Rebel Congress met at Richmond on the 18th inst., and on that very day two bills, designed to deter the United States government from enlisting negroes, especially slaves, were introduced and referred to the Military Committee. One of them was presented by Mr. Miles of South Carolina, and entitled "a bill to punish slaves taken in arms and the white men assuming to be their officers." It provides that the slaves so taken shall be delivered up to the authorities of the State in which captured, to be disposed of by its laws; and the white officers to be hung or also delivered up to the State authorities. The other, introduced by Mr. Foote of Tennessee, is entitled "a bill to punish negroes in arms," and provides that Federal armies incongruously composed of white and black shall not be held entitled to the privileges of war, or to be taken prisoners. Of such as may be captured, the negroes shall be returned to their masters or publicly sold, and their commanders hung or shot, as may be most convenient.

This shows the great anxiety of the rebels to prevent the North from availing herself of the proffered aid of the blacks, and makes it clear that Northern presses and politicians now clamoring against negro enlistments are really giving aid and comfort to the enemy in the most effective way. Some of those thus employed may not intend to give such aid, but that the majority really mean to do so we have not the slightest doubt. Of all the Northern pro-slavery papers there is not one that is not particularly anxious to keep the negroes, and especially the negroes of the South, out of the Federal army, for they know right well that it will be all up with the rebels the moment it is understood that black Unionists are to be allowed to take up arms on the side of the North.

The President, if he is in doubt as to the effect of taking negroes into the army, should take a lesson from the fears of the South. The measure which the rebels most dread is surely the very one that he ought promptly to adopt; and then, if they fulminate such threats as those embodied in the bills before the Rebel Congress, he should promptly avow his purpose to retaliate upon any Confederate prisoners that may fall into his hands.

GO AWAY, OLD BLACK MAN!

A GANG of rowdy boys in a Northern city, celebrating a certain Fourth of July in honor of their fathers, seized an aged colored man at an apple stand, confiscated his stock in trade, and hustled him away into the suburbs. There they kept him for the greater part of the day, and, to use a phrase known in college, *hazed* him. They pulled his wool, they kicked him, they put nettles in his sleeves, each new outrage suggesting another, until, as a crowning joke, it was proposed to string him up to the stout limb of an elm. This measure developed a *humanitarian* party, and excited a *deplorable agitation*, which quite broke up the hilarity of the patriotic occasion, the non-extension faction insisting that the *old cuss* should be ducked in the horse-pond and permitted thereafter to go about his business.

High words ensued between these *misguided philanthropists*, and the party of the *constitutional right of every man to tarrup his own nigger*. "Ah," cried the latter, with crushing irony, "you reckon a *nigger* as good as a white man! You are *nigger-worshippers!* Look at *Old Cuff*. Ain't he a beauty? Don't some of you want to marry his daughters?" These were very cruel taunts upon the *philanthropists*, who passionately explained that they hated the *old darkey* as they did the Devil, that they did not object to the *hazing* as far as it had gone, but that hanging was an *irregular proceeding*, which it was unfair to ask them to assist in, though they were ready, and had always been ready, for the sake of peace and harmony, to duck the nigger, when, if he perishes, it would be the effect of his own evident *incapacity to take care of himself*, and nobody's fault. From criminations and disclaimers of humanity that did too much honor, the contestants soon came to blows, and, horrible to relate, *white* boys (white barring the dirt) "went to cutting one another's throats" about an *old black nigger!*

Now, viewed from any unprejudiced point of observation, say from that of the decent brute below us, or from that of the candid angel above us, this "throat-cutting," so long as it confined itself to *these two classes*, might seem every way salutary and appropriate, a proceeding in no wise likely to hinder the *millennium*, if it were only *thorough* and *well followed up*. But to our story, which is not a story, only an illustration.

Just when the war was waxing hottest, an ingenuous youth of the non-extension party approached the old apple man, and taking hold of his cravat till his face, written over with the agony of a day, had revolved upon his haltered neck, addressed him thus: "Look here, *Old Dad*. But for your being amongst us, there could not be any fight, although many boys engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without this day's *rowing* and *you as the basis of it*, the fight could not have been in existence. Now, will you take yourself off to Liberia or Central America, where we can't get our hands upon you?"

Noble youth! Did not this flush of charity in his artless soul cut the Gordian knot, and relieve a fated race from the terrible spell under which they were pouring out each other's blood? Will the intrusive African hesitate to go, when his presence is the only obstacle to prevent alienated hearts from falling in frantic palpitations of restored affection upon each other? *Charity?* Did we call it by that poor term, redolent of cold victuals? Nay, it is STATESMANSHIP. †

"OCCASIONAL" AND THE BLACKS.

THESE are times in which great changes take place suddenly. One week ago, a letter in *The Press* of Philadelphia, bearing the signature of "Occasional"—the generally recognized *nom de plume* of the Editor—lauded the President for what it termed "his practical and humane" proposition to colonize the free blacks in Central America. Its language was:

"We shall certainly be told of the hardship that would drive a man from the country of his birth, his family, and his friendships; and I have heard sober men ask why it is that the negro, after tilling the soil for two centuries, should not be permitted to occupy it now. In all these things there is a certain degree of justice, but we may as well dismiss sentiment and consider the matter plainly. Our people do not like the negro. He is not a congenial companion, nor an acceptable fellow-citizen. There must forever be an antagonism of race. The blue-eyed Saxon, with his fair hair, projecting chin, and overhanging forehead, his pride of country, ancestry, religion, and literature, must always be an exclusive and despotic race. He eats his own corn and the corn of his neighbor. Justice is nothing to expediency. Instinct governs conscience—passion controls principle. There can be nothing like an equality of race where the blue-veined Saxon exists. The tawny East Indians are crouching at his feet—the Chinaman cowers in dismay—the Indian proudly and submissively moves on to oblivion and the setting sun, while the negro tills his fields, grows his cotton, digs his entrenchments, and gathers his food and raiment. * * * *

"With this prejudice existing—deep-seated, ineradicable and extending—what is to be done? I am anxious that the negro should be happy and prosperous, and enjoy all the blessings that God reserves for man. He cannot eat at my table, or sit in my parlor, or ride in my carriage, or lounge in my opera-box; he cannot be my partner in business, the friend of my social life, or the husband of my kinswomen. He is forever an inferior being, and all he can hope for is a dollar when I am generous, or the half-worn garments in my wardrobe. I am anxious that this should no longer be, and I find in President Lincoln's wise, humane and practical address the best remedy for this wrong of a race to a race. The star of the black man is in the east. Let him go to the shores of his fathers, and, under the ever-beaming sun of his native land, let him recreate the race to which he belongs. When the ocean rolls between us we may give the negro our hand. Commerce will obliterate the differences and dissensions of race. He has a country where nature is bounteous and fertile—with rivers, lakes, available coasts, timber, gold, palm-oil, and ivory—he has no rival. Place the negro in Central America or Africa, in any equatorial country, and we may hope to see again the spirit of the Moor when he occupied Spain, and the enterprise of the Ethiopian when he bartered and sold in the markets of Tyre and Sidon."

How, as a matter of taste, judgment or moral principle, the Editor of *The Press* could have indited, or on his responsibility allowed any one else to indite such atrocious stuff, has been a matter of wonder to his friends. This week, however, he comes to us with new language in his mouth. Either a change has come over the spirit of his dream, or a new hand wields the pen of "Occasional." The object of eulogy this time is Gen. Sickles, and the particular occasion a speech made by the General to show that the industrial interests of the South and of the country at large forbid the idea of the emigration of the black man. "Occasional" says:

"These are words of weighty wisdom, and there is no successful reply to them. Secretary Seward's late letter, in which he invokes European emigration to the United States to fill the vacuum created by the enormous contribution of our white men to the army of the Republic, bears with signal significance upon this question. The freed slaves of the South will be required to till the Southern cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar fields, and the emigrants of the Old World will be demanded to occupy the void in the various mechanical and agricultural walks of the free States. These two propositions stand like an impregnable battlement, and prove conclusively that the white men of the free States need not fear an exodus of the free or disfranchised blacks of the South, *and that the South must perish forever, if not cultivated by these enfranchised blacks*."

The italics are "Occasional's." We fully agree with him. But how about the "star of the black man" being "in the east"? How can he go to the "shores of his fathers," and at the same time be "required to till the Southern cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco fields"? Which of these letters of "Occasional" speaks the mind of the Editor? or does either? *The Press's* language is, on some topics, equivocal. He seems to blow hot and cold; to say "Good Lord—good Devil"; "good Abolitionist—good Anti-Abolitionist," as if not knowing into whose hands he may yet fall. We say "*seems* to say"; we only judge from appearances. To this the Editor will not object. If he may formally charge Wendell Phillips with treason, on the testimony of a hostile newspaper, we may be allowed to hint equivocation and self-stultification on the evidence of his own.

SEWARD BLOCKING THE WHEELS.—The following statement, from the Washington correspondence of *The Tribune*, has not been contradicted, we believe, in any quarter, and therefore we presume it is substantially true:

"WASHINGTON, Thursday, Aug. 21, 1862.

"In justice to all parties, it seems proper to state the following, which we learn from so many sources that it can no longer be considered a state secret. Two or three weeks ago the President laid before his Cabinet a proclamation of Emancipation abolishing slavery wherever on the 1st of next December the rebellion should not be crushed, and asked the opinion of his Ministers touching the propriety of issuing it.

"All but two, Secretary Smith, we believe, being absent, approved. Secretary Seward and Postmaster-General Blair, however, opposed it with all their might, and the result was that it did not appear. It is understood that the subject came up at more than one Cabinet meeting, but that the two parties continued as at first, Messrs. Seward and Blair being the resolute minority."

It is unquestionably true, however strange the fact may appear, that Mr. Seward, from the very beginning of the war, has been the chief opponent of every measure looking to emancipation as a means of putting down the rebellion. It is doubtless owing to his personal influence that the President has been so slow to heed the counsels of earnest anti-slavery men, and so responsive to the wishes of those who are for conciliation and compromise.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENT.—Our friend, Dr. James Boyle, of this city, has sent us a copy of the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the names of the signers attached, printed on white silk, almost twenty-nine years ago, by Merrihew and Gunn, of Philadelphia. Over the Declaration is a picture which symbolizes the conflict with slavery. It is of a man slaying a lion, and under it is this motto: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." On each side of the picture also are appropriate texts of Scripture, and on the right the well-known lines of Cowper:

> "Thus man devotes his fellow-man,
> Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat,
> With stripes, that mercy, with a bleeding heart,
> Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast.
> I would not have a slave to till my ground,
> To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
> And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
> That sinews bought and sold have ever earned.
> No, dear as freedom is, * * *
> I had much rather be myself the slave,
> And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

The Declaration, it will be remembered, bears date Dec. 6, 1833. If the nation had heeded this voice of remonstrance and warning, and made haste to put away the sin of slavery, it would have been spared the calamities under which it is now suffering.

"THE ARMY AND THE NEGROES."—We wish to direct attention to the mass of interesting matter, collated from various sources and printed under this head in another part of this sheet. Many of the facts invite comment, and not a few are calculated to excite deep impatience and indignation, but we have no space for remarks.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, doubtless for some good reason, has not sent us his usual letter this week. His observations upon public affairs—always marked by candor, good sense, and regard for moral principles—are highly valued by our readers.

SAD BEREAVEMENT.—Among the passengers lost in the steamer Acacia, lately sunk in the Mississippi by striking a snag while on the passage from Memphis to Helena, was the estimable and widely beloved wife of Robert Dale Owen.

MR. PLUMB DISCHARGED.—Our anticipations have been realized in the release of Mr. Plumb from imprisonment. We did not for a moment believe that the government, upon a fair understanding of the facts, would think of detaining him. Here is Mr. Plumb's card:

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I was this morning discharged from arrest, by orders from Washington, on giving assurance as follows:

1. "To support, protect and defend the government, as established by the Constitution." This I can heartily do, as I always have done, believing that the Constitution is armed with power not only to put down the rebellion, but also slavery.

2. "Not to discourage enlistments." Instead of offering such discouragement, I would have the government to adopt such a policy as would stimulate enlistments in the highest degree.

3. "Not to give aid or comfort to the enemy." So far from giving him "aid or comfort," I would hurl a more swift, sweeping and terrible destruction upon him than has been yet employed by the government.

Yours, etc., D. PLUMB.

No. 240 Broadway, Aug. 22, 1862.

Mr. Plumb, it will be observed, holds that the Constitution, properly construed, is anti-slavery. We must confess that this view of the Constitution, however erroneous we may deem it, has its advantages for a person thus arraigned, since it enables him to take the oath of allegiance with a good conscience.

Mr. Kennedy, the Provost-Marshal, in yielding to the pro-slavery clamor for the arrest of Mr. Plumb, acted very foolishly, as he is doubtless already convinced. It must have been a source of extreme mortification to him, we are sure, to find himself praised day after day by the presses whose sympathy with the rebels is scarcely disguised by hypocritical professions of loyalty, while honest citizens of every class remonstrated against his course as alike unjustifiable and foolish.

New Publications.

AMERICA BEFORE EUROPE. By COUNT AGENOR DE GASPARIN. Translated by MARY L. BOOTH. New York: Chas. Scribner. 1862.

WHETHER Gen. McClellan or Gen. Halleck is likely to turn out the Washington of this second birth of the American nation, it may be premature to determine. But those who have a fancy for historical parallelisms may claim, with tolerable pertinence, that the mantle of Lafayette has fallen upon his countryman Count De Gasparin. And the service of this later friend of America is a far nobler one than any physical assistance a foreigner could render at the present time. For it is not strength in men or money that we have lacked; but only a profession of faith, and the loyalty that will assume a manly responsibility. Thus the cordial recognition of whatever of noble impulse has been associated with the uprising of the Northern States—a recognition before those who have betrayed a ghastly sympathy with the rebellion of slavery—is an efficient and timely aid we cannot easily forget.

In some of the quoted "notices of the press" Count De Gasparin's books have been compared to those of De Tocqueville; but apart from the fact that both these writers are Frenchmen who have written about America, we are unable to discover the slightest resemblance. We look in vain for the profound thought of De Tocqueville, and for the admirable clearness of his generalizations. The "Democracy in America" is the deeply philosophical work of a calm observer of our national character; the "America before Europe" has the effect of a collection of hastily-written pamphlets by an ardent friend of all that is good in our condition, and a confident believer in the attainment of the higher good which is in our power. It must be allowed that, in the treatment of various details of our policy, Count De Gasparin displays a certain sketchy impulsiveness which makes it rather difficult to get at his mature conclusions; in many places he is generously ready to excuse in fact what elsewhere he seems to condemn in principle. Yet this is scarcely to be mentioned in criticism. For the mission of a foreigner, who watches to report the first manifestations of type and vitality in the moral awakening of a community, is very different from the duty of one directly responsible for their nourishment and direction. To excuse shortcomings, to exhibit in the most favorable light whatever of justice or freedom has been achieved, these are the privileges of our noble European defender; to promulgate a higher doctrine, to expose the sin and shame of any lingering dalliance with iniquity, are the duties of the true American citizen.

Count De Gasparin is not exempt from occasional error. "I know of but one thing more detestable than separation," so he writes, "it is conquest." He explains this assertion by declaring that "men have been found in the North who have accepted the idea of conquest with all its consequences"—these consequences he defines to be the holding the South by a standing army as an American Poland or Venice. We think Count De Gasparin mistaken in supposing that this sort of conquest has found any advocates in America. The only conquest that far-seeing men demanded in the beginning, and which, as we trust, the general voice of the people demands to-day, was a complete and exterminating conquest of the feudal tyranny of a handful of rebellious slaveholders. The only *holding* of the South that has been asked for is PROTECTION—protection long enough to enfranchise its democratic strength. Such a conquest is the liberation of our fellow-laborers, white and black, depressed and brutalized by the ruffianism of slavery. The democratic principle being once firmly established; it being possible for such Southern men as Helper and Conway to address their neighbors without certainty of martyrdom; above all, opportunities for knowledge having replaced the law of slavery compelling ignorance—the right of forcible occupation no longer exists. Such changes being effectively established, should a majority of Southern citizens, white and black (so far as intelligence made it proper to give the latter the privilege of voting) demand a separation—giving the necessary guarantees of practical unanimity of sentiment among themselves, and of peaceable and friendly feelings towards us—then to hold the South as Austria holds Venice would be as detestable in conception as it would be impossible in execution. But a demand for this sort of subjugation has never been heard from any party, nor, so far as we know, from any individual among us. In his latest Boston speech Mr. Everett declares that if the PEOPLE of the cotton States had declared in favor of separation, and brought their request before a constitutional convention, he would not have opposed it; and the editors of *The Tribune*, representing a totally different school of political thought, have agreed in this from the beginning. Count De Gasparin may be assured that the class of men who would *conquer* the despotism of slavery thoroughly and forever would be the first to spurn the wicked enthralment he has supposed.

We cannot overlook the writer's views and suggestions concerning the source of our troubles. Count De Gasparin recognizes the enormity and danger of slavery without professing to desire anything but a very gradual abolition. Indeed his opinions, so far as we are able to make them out, resemble those held by the founders of our republic. He professes to be satisfied, in case the absence of European sympathy had caused the immediate collapse of the rebellion, that "slavery would have begun to die gently, tranquilly, by pacific and Christian means." Not otherwise thought the eminent men who tolerated it in the beginning of our history. Why we do not agree in this view of the case our readers are sufficiently informed. Count De Gasparin also declares that "it is no small honor to the North to have rejected the aid of servile insurrections." Now this deprecation of the incitement of servile insurrection may express the baldest truism, or countenance the most imbecile policy. If using servile insurrections means the inciting of unorganized bands of negroes to slay the defenceless, only those could think of it who make ornaments out of the bones of their enemies and drinking cups out of their skulls. But do such expressions imply that it is any honor to the nation to have sacrificed tens of thousands of her best lives rather than oblige armed rebels to stay at home to look after their own slippery property? Do they imply that it is an honor to the North to have refused to invite to the side of freedom four million of people involuntarily hoeing and harvesting to uphold and promote the rebellion? We speak after the manner of men; we ignore every demand of natural justice and Christian duty; we only ask to be shown a more delusive *policy*, a more direct encouragement to this odious insurrection. But if we must regret some of the expressions or opinions of a foreigner who has no experimental knowledge of the vitality of the pro-slavery despotism, there is nothing to regret in the spirit and motive of his book. It breathes a true love of liberty and a fine and generous endeavor for the elevation of men. It declares that "slavery, as the enemy and obstacle to reconciliation, should receive its death blow." The action necessary to secure this end, we suspect Count De Gasparin may have already discovered.

Finally, it is well to be reminded that our struggle as seen from the outside can appear great and majestic, even when we are most disheartened with its false and criminal details. Fortunately the results of mighty movements are not in the hands of their authors, neither are they intended by them. Luther had no objection to the general faith and polity of the papacy, and Henry VIII., ready to resist interference with the divorcement of his wives, had no scruples concerning the ritual of the Church. Mr. Stevens of Georgia founds his ideal State upon the corner-stone of slavery, and Mr. Seward of New York hastens to his assistance by proclaiming that the war will not change the *status* of any class of persons. Let us be patient with them both. Providence may have granted us something better than a too easy return to the low satisfactions of prosperity. If no great man has risen to our relief, many spirits are pervaded with a trust in unrealized ideas which a great man can only render practical. *Nemo vir magnus, sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit*, was the testimony of the heathen Cicero. And if our great man comes not, the divine afflatus rises from events, and seeks its own in America and in Europe. And of these Count De Gasparin is surely one. It may be that the wages of our nation's sin must be political death. The time may have passed when what seemed uncommon boldness to our timid rulers was but the common prudence necessary to save. We still hope that it is consistent with Infinite Wisdom to sanctify our calamities to the redemption of the many, as well as to the instruction of a few. *

THE NEW GYMNASTICS FOR MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. With a Translation of Prof. Kloss's Dumb Bell Instructor, and Prof. Schreber's Pangymnastikon. By DIO LEWIS, M.D., Proprietor of the Essex Street Gymnasium, Boston. With Three Hundred Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

This book, in the words of the author, describes and illustrates a new system of physical training; a system which, like air and food, is adapted to both sexes and persons of all ages. This claim may be thought extravagant, but it is supported by the judgment of eminent persons who have had ample opportunity to test the merits of the system. It has been introduced into female seminaries with complete satisfaction. Its beautiful games, graceful attitudes, and striking tableaux, possess a peculiar fascination for girls. Children under three years of age are warmly interested, and improved in form and strength. The exercises are arranged to music, and when performed by a class, are found to possess a charm superior even to that of dancing. They will correct drooping or distorted shoulders, malposition of the head, and many other common defects.

Our acquaintance with Dr. Lewis enables us to speak with great confidence of his superior qualifications as a gymnastic instructor. He is a man of rare common sense, and though an enthusiast in his profession, does not urge physical training as "the one thing needful" to the world's improvement, nor talk as if a gymnasium were an infallible cure for every evil that afflicts society. He sees the special truths which mainly occupy his attention in their proper relations to other truths, and carries into his work the broadest views and the highest aims.

One dollar, sent to Dr. Dio Lewis, Box 12, Boston Post Office, will secure a copy of the book by mail, post paid.

HISTORICAL NOTES on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution. By GEORGE H. MOORE, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. C. T. Evans, 532 Broadway.

Mr. Moore, in this brief pamphlet, has recited historic facts of peculiar interest now, when the people are considering whether the negroes shall be permitted to aid in putting down the rebellion. We have not room here to go into the subject at length, but must content ourselves with the remark, that in spite of the prejudice which, in the earlier periods of the Revolutionary struggle, would not permit the negroes to be enrolled, a considerable number were, before the end of the war, allowed a place in the army. Mr. Moore gives us, what never before saw the light, viz:

RETURN OF NEGROES IN THE ARMY, 24TH AUG., 1778.

BRIGADES.	*Present.*	*Sick Absent.*	*On Command.*	TOTAL.
North Carolina..	42	10	6	58
Woodford........	36	3	1	40
Muhlenburg.....	64	26	8	98
Smallwood......	20	3	1	24
2d Maryland....	43	15	2	60
Wayne.........	2	..	..	2
2d Pennsylvania.	[33]	[1]	[1]	[35]
Clinton..........	33	2	4	39
Parsons.........	117	12	19	148
Huntington	56	2	4	62
Nixon...........	26	..	1	27
Patterson	64	13	12	89
Late Learned....	34	4	8	46
Poor............	16	7	4	27
	586	98	71	755

ALEX. SCAMMELL, Adj.-Gen.

This return, says Mr. Moore, embraces the negroes with the main army, under Gen. Washington's immediate command, two months after the battle of Monmouth. Similar returns from other armies in other departments would doubtless show a larger proportion in many brigades. The black regiment of Rhode Island is not included in the above return.

This pamphlet may be obtained at this office, price 10 cents.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for September opens with a discriminating and appreciative tribute to the memory of Henry Thomas Buckle. "The Molly O'Molly Papers" are continued. Under the title of "American Student Life" we have some very pleasant "memories of Yale." The sketch of "John Neal" is a very successful piece of pen portraiture. "The Merchant's Story," by the author of "Among the Pines," begun in the August number and continued in this, opens well; but the writer has not yet advanced to his main object, a picture of Southern society as affected by slavery. "Anthony Trollope on America" is a review of that writer's book of American travel, appreciative and critical. Mr. Trollope's foolish assumption of the negro's incapacity for self-maintenance or self-control, and his caricature of emancipation as the "setting loose" of "four million of slaves, with the necessities of children, with the passions of men, and the ignorance of savages, to tear their masters, destroy each other, and make a hell upon earth," are exposed by the citation of incontrovertible facts in the history of the black race. Without referring particularly to the remaining articles, we may say that this number of *The Continental* is fully up to its usual mark. New York: J. R. Gilmore, 532 Broadway.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW for July (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition, 79 Fulton st.) contains nine papers, each interesting and valuable in its way. These are the titles: The Explorers of Australia; Wellington's Supplementary Dispatches; Sir G. C. Lewis's Astronomy of the Ancients; Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt; Troyon's Lacustrine Abodes of Man; Weber's Gleanings from German Archives; Iron: its Uses and Manufacture; Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench; Dollinger on the Temporal Power.

THE REBELLION RECORD, Part XXI., brings the Diary of Verified Occurrences up to April 1st, and the collection of Documents, Narratives, etc., to the 4th of March. The likenesses prefixed are those of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and Col. E. D. Baker, late of California. New York: G. P. Putnam. Charles T. Evans, General Agent, 532 Broadway.

BORDER STATE LOYALTY. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* writes:

"Gentlemen here, who have recently returned from Cumberland Gap and other points where our Western armies are stationed, more than confirm your statements to-day concerning the probability of losing more than we gain by employing negro troops. The names of several Kentucky Colonels are freely mentioned, who have freely declared they would at once resign if negro troops were sent into the field, and their whole regiments are declared to be imbued with the same feeling. In some of them the declaration was common that they would at once lay down their arms should the government arm negroes as soldiers, while some have even gone so far as to say that in that event they would go over bodily to the other side."

Does not every sensible man see that such loyalty as this is but a step from open treason? Of what value is that love of the Union which will become hatred if a negro is allowed to fight for the cause? We do not hesitate to say that the Union cause would be immensely strengthened if such men were driven over to the rebel side. And the sooner they go, the better. To allow them to dictate the policy of the war is to tamper with treason and put the cause of free government in deadly peril.

"PREACHERS OF SEDITION."

THE New York *Observer* of Aug. 21st. contains, in the place of an editorial leader, a letter to President Lincoln, signed "Aristides," the object of which appears to be to follow up, under the sanctions of religion, the malignant efforts of Bennett's *Herald* and kindred prints to excite popular odium against leading champions of freedom, and to persuade the government to consign them to prison as "preachers of sedition." Having cited extracts from the writings or speeches of H. B. Stanton, H. W. Beecher, M. D. Conway and Wendell Phillips, the writer closes with this malevolent appeal to the President:

"It requires no spirit of divination to detect the menace of sedition, treason and revolution, scarcely disguised, in these pregnant sentences. Mr. Stanton boldly asserts that the revolution is begun. Mr. Beecher accuses your whole Cabinet of a crime that should send any statesman to the block. Mr. Conway declares your removal and the elevation of Fremont essential to success. And Mr. Phillips prays for some 'stunning misfortune,' like that which Mr. Beecher predicts, that a disappointed politician and a soldier who resigned in front of the enemy, may be summoned by the people to be their prophet, priest and king.

"If it is your impression, Mr. President, that these preachers of sedition have no constituency behind them, and their utterances are therefore to be regarded only as the insane ravings of enthusiasts and fanatics, let me, as one of the people, bear witness as to the extent and power of this revolutionary faction. Its numbers are hundreds of thousands. Its leaders are in thousands of pulpits. Countless political and religious newspapers advocate a policy of war by which the Constitution is virtually subverted, and REVOLUTION indirectly encouraged. Meanwhile, the position of our armies and the prospect of this campaign are so well known to yourself, that it is not difficult to forsee the juncture approaching when this party will attempt to complete the work which they have been long maturing. *Now*, the man who warns you of the danger is regarded by the public as one who mocks. A prophet of evil is laughed at, especially in his own country. But you have too much sagacity to shut your eyes against the truth, however unwelcome, and your heroic patriotism will impel you to strangle the serpent of sedition so soon as you can gripe his throat. Justice is the highest attribute in the character of God or man. Justice is impartial, and if it has its seat in your breast, you will promptly punish the teachers of sedition at the North, as you would the traitors of the South. Posterity will not honor you, if you are afraid to be just, when the sword and the balances are both in your hands.

"Mr. President, your worst and most dangerous enemy is behind you. The Constitution is your buckler and shield. Be true to your oath and you will be true to God, for by him you swore to uphold the Constitution. Thousands of Christian people pray that you may stand fast in your integrity, and if you fall, that you may not die with a lie in your right hand.

"'Be just and fear not.
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's and truth's; then if thou fall'st,
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr.'"

"With great respect, I am, sir,
"Yours, etc., ARISTIDES."

We are not afraid to wager our head against a foot-ball, that "Aristides," if he dared to disclose himself, would turn out to be a man who, for years, has been in sympathy with the authors of the Southern rebellion, and who regards Vallandigham, Fernando Wood and Charles J. Ingersoll as model patriots. Such scoundrels have little expectation that they can persuade the government to put Abolitionists in prison, but they keep up a clamor on that subject in the hope of thereby creating a state of popular feeling which shall make it embarrassing, if not perilous, for those in authority to lay their hands on the real traitors.

Whatever the President may think of Abolitionists in other respects, he knows that they utterly loathe and hate the rebellion, and that they are incapable of doing or saying anything to give aid or comfort to its authors. The malignity of such papers as Bennett's *Herald* and "Gordon Bennett" Prime's *Observer* will therefore fail of its object, if it does not recoil upon themselves. The vipers bite a file.

THE CORRESPONDENCE between Mr. Greeley and the President, which has excited so much attention throughout the country, will be found in full on the fourth page. It needs no comment from us, though if we had room much might be said.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

THE effort of the rebels to outflank Gen. Pope's forces and make a dash on Washington before McClellan's army could be withdrawn from the Peninsula, has failed. Pope's advance has fallen back safely from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, where he holds the enemy in check while preparations are being made by a junction of his division with that of the Peninsula, and by reënforcements from various quarters, to advance upon Richmond with an overwhelming force. The retirement of McClellan from the Peninsula enabled the rebels to withdraw a large portion of their force at Richmond, and their hope was to strike at Washington before the junction of the Union forces could be effected. That danger is now past, and it is probable that there will soon be a great battle on the Rappahannock.

The recent skirmishing on the Rappahannock was attended by one serious disaster to the Union arms. A company of guerillas made a sudden attack in the night upon Catlett's station. They dashed in upon our small collection of men and waggons, and stampeding a lot of sutlers and servants and teamsters, burned seven waggons, ran off a number of horses, and took about a hundred prisoners. The most serious part of the business is that they took all the private papers and letters of Gen. Pope, copies of dispatches and reports, memoranda relating to the campaign and to the army, copies of telegrams sent, all dispatches received from the President, Halleck and the War Department, orders issued to Generals of corps and divisions, all maps and topographical charts, containing information of the greatest value; in a word, the whole history and plan of the campaign, the numbers and disposition of troops, all are revealed to the enemy by this disaster. Its seriousness can hardly be estimated. It is taking the Rebel General into the confidence of Halleck, and may render it necessary to change the whole campaign. Among the trophies carried off were $40,000 in cash, belonging to the Quartermaster's Department of Gen. Pope's army, and his own commissions as Brigadier-General and Major-General. The latter was, however, recaptured by one of our own soldiers, who found it in the saddle-bag of a rebel trooper, which was left behind in the hurry of the departure.

Leading men, fresh from the people, and urgent to have government put forth its full power, are agreeably disappointed at finding Gen. Halleck of the same mind with themselves. He seems, they say, thoroughly to believe and entirely ready to act upon the belief that we are engaged in a war, and that we must treat the rebels as our enemies, using all civilized means of warfare to the end of victory, and suffering no undue leniency to stay the hands of the government from striking traitors, whether in arms in the field, or secretly plotting treason in the loyal States. Gen. Halleck is, according to these gentlemen, certainly not a whit behind, and probably somewhat in advance of the government as regards energetic action, whether against external or internal foes.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

A large number of prominent citizens of central and Southern Illinois are in Cairo under arrest, charged with treason, and with being members of that treasonable organization known as the "Knights of the Golden Circle." Somehow, through the indefatigable exertions of the Provost-Marshal of the District, Major J. W. Merril, a clue has been discovered to the whole affair. The Major and several of his assistants have visited most of the lodges of the State, and a full and authentic *exposé* of the signs, ceremonies, and mysteries of the order will be published in a day or two. Already the Hon. W. J. Allen, Member of Congress from the Ninth Congressional District, Judges John H. Mulkey and A. D. Duff, Dr. Edmonson, — Nelson, and F. M. Youngblood are under arrest.

Gen. Banks had a very narrow escape from death during the engagement of his troops on Saturday morning, 23d inst., on the extreme right of our line. He was leaning against a tree, watching the progress of the fight, when a rifled shot from a rebel battery struck the tree about eighteen inches above his head, cutting it clean in two. With his usual good fortune, he escaped injury, even from splinters.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

We have dates from Port Royal to the 20th. All was quiet. Health was good. The excitement concerning the ram expected from Savannah had entirely subsided, deserters having reported that she was a failure, leaks badly, and could not be steered.

The Intelligencer states that the resignation of Gen. Phelps, of Gen. Butler's department, was promptly accepted as soon as it arrived, and that it had been determined beforehand to recall him.

Gen. Cassius M. Clay has taken the field in Kentucky with a brigade. Gen. Lew. Wallace also takes the field. There will not be much done by these officers in sending back fugitive slaves.

The notorious George N. Sanders, after passing in disguise through our lines to Canada, has sailed for Europe as an Envoy of the Rebels. The Montreal *Gazette* says it is rumored that the object of his mission is to take an offer of the Confederate government to Britain and France of absolute free trade with the Southern States if they will pay the Confederate war debt. If that bait don't catch the gudgeon, George is prepared to promise gradual emancipation—probably very gradual.

Charles Ingersoll, of Philadelphia (a son of the late Charles J. Ingersoll), has been imprisoned upon the charge of uttering disloyal sentiments and discouraging enlistments.

The Army and the Negroes.

THE SLAVES RETREATING WITH MCCLELLAN. *Yorktown, Va., Aug. 14.*—The negroes of the whole region joined the army on its march. They were contented to remain at the old homesteads while we were between them and their masters, but now that we depart, they are too sharp to expect to see those white runaways in peace, and prefer not to see them at all. One intelligent old woman told me she "Knowed we was born to be free if you stayed, and now we's boun to go long with you an be free." Hundreds seem to be "boun" in the same way.—*Tribune.*

Williamsburg, Va., Aug. 16.—The slaves, however, immediately took the alarm. The Union army, they said, was going the wrong way for them, and before night scores of the black population, who hitherto had remained in conscious security, packed up and prepared to leave. This alarmed the neighbors, who began to make efforts to calm their fears and to persuade them to remain. Promises of protection and good usage were freely made, but it was all of no avail. The prospect of seeing the secession army again in the town produced a perfect panic, and it is believed that the whole black population would leave and proceed to Fort Monroe. Some of the more violent of the slaveholders resorted to threats, and one man, Thos. Coles, occupied the whole of Friday and Saturday in running bullets with which to shoot down the fugitives after the army had passed. He was arrested and held to answer by Gov. Campbell, the Military Governor of the place.—*Times.*

SENTIMENT IN KANSAS.—A correspondent of the New York *Times*, in a recent letter from Kansas, says: "I must say that a positive but restrained feeling of *disgust* animates the people of Kansas. That community, strong in courage and abounding in intelligence, though weak in numbers, has received a spiritual baptism, which has given it the prophetic power of faith. The people of Kansas have fought this same fight before, and know what constitutes the elements of success. They deplore the vacillation that deprives our heaviest blows of half their force; and patiently await the hour when the country and the President may receive the 'extreme unction' which they fear will be administered only in the visible presence of death, and which alone will enable them to see the means of salvation so long rejected. The feeling is quite unanimous, that *freedom to all* is the magic watchword which can alone invoke the presence of final victory. Democrats share it as well as Republicans; in fact, there are no more pro-slavery there, among the really loyal, none. They are all *Abolitionists*, and if I can form any opinion in so hasty a trip of the sentiment of Illinois, it is fast coming up to the same standard."

SIFTING THROUGH THE LINES.—*Gen. Banks's Headquarters, Aug. 15.*—As we advance, thousands of Southerners sift through our lines and make for Washington. They are blacker than you and I, perhaps, and they creep timidly, as if in doubt whether safer at the muzzle or the breech of Union muskets; but they come sincerely *willing* to be our friends if we will let them. Many of these are stalwart fellows, with muscles aching for something to do; the nation aches for defenders. Why may not that and these, here and now, make a bargain? Why coddle an insane whim any longer, when three hundred lives a day is the price? The negroes here have the muscle and can stand this exposure; their lives are not very valuable to the world; they are densely, fearfully ignorant—as ignorant as the white citizens here, almost, except perhaps in political matters; why not let them fight for their native land? and oblige them to if it comes to that? Pennsylvania father, your son here has been fighting a year, and is tired—he wants to come home and rest; have you any objection to his accepting a sable substitute?—the only one accessible—or will you insist that he shall still wear out his life as a substitute for Sambo?

Michigan mother, your son will be drafted next week; have you any objection to a negro taking the musket and leaving him with you? If we were drowning, or our house was burning, none of us would decline anybody's assistance. We may not be drowning, or we may be; at least, we are in fearfully deep water. Shall we punctiliously refuse to grasp the proffered rope till we make sure that the hand that holds the other end is of orthodox complexion? Shame on our national coxcombry! Must we be *thrashed* into common sense? When shall we learn the two simple lessons: first, that tolerance of treason anywhere is treason to loyalty everywhere; and second, to "treat henceforward all Unionists as if they were white men, and all rebels as if they were niggers?"—*Tribune.*

LIGHT BURSTING IN DARK PLACES.—*Memphis, Aug. 11.*—Negroes have arrived at the camp lines around Memphis from Florida and Louisiana. They represent that the slaves are just beginning to learn that the "Yankee soldiers will let the black people come to them." One old negro from Florida said he believed it was true as soon as he heard the news, and started right off to find the place where the Yankees were. He believes that many more will follow him. Companies of slaves are daily arriving from the surrounding country, and desire to go to the "breastworks." Their masters are greatly disturbed, and often follow their fugitive property to Memphis and apply to Gen. Sherman for relief. The commander has hit upon a capital answer to all inquiries after runaway negroes. The master is referred, in the most indifferent manner, to the United States Marshal and the Fugitive Slave law as the ways and means provided by the Constitution and laws for the return of fugitives from service.

There is great complaint among the ladies because of the growing impudence of their servants. "Did you ever hear of the like—niggers saucing back to white folks!" is the stereotyped ejaculation of the distressed housekeepers. The truth is, "Massa and Missus" are so much alarmed for their own safety, that they fear their own shadows, and dare not attempt to chastise a servant, lest it should create an open revolt. The negroes have quickly discovered the terror of their masters, and are not slow to take advantage of it. They that ruled have therefore become the servants of their own slaves. The truth is fast forcing itself upon these people that the war levied in the defense of slavery is suicidal, and has already worked its overthrow.

Boats that have been engaged in coasting trips down the river give strange accounts of the state of things between this place and Helena, especially about the mouth of the Arkansas. Negroes, it is stated, are selling the mules on the deserted plantations, in some instances as low as $5 a head. They are all represented to be bringing in cotton that has been hid away in the woods, and selling it for fifteen cents a pound. It is said that negroes pull from their pockets rolls of "greenbacks," who are unable to distinguish one hundred dollar notes from tens.—*Tribune.*

WORKING OUT THE DREAMS OF YOUTH.—*Memphis, Aug. 12.*—The work upon the fortifications in the southern part of the city, near the old location of Fort Pickering, continues to progress satisfactorily and steadily. The negroes take hold with a will, and appear to labor more steadily and with better effect than ever. They "pitch in" most industriously, accompanying the stroke of the mattock or spade with snatches of songs and the gushes of laughter and jollity common to the race when off duty on their native plantations, and the manner in which the ditches are dug, the breastworks piled up and the hardest of labor performed, throws ancient canallers and railroad men of a lighter color into perfect conniptions. They all declare they never saw anything like it. The negroes know they are working out the dreams of their youth, the thoughts of their every day, the wishes of their hearts. EMANCIPATION from the slave-dealer's mart, the overseer's whip, is the end in view. They know that each spadeful of mold they throw up in the fort is just so much toward the consummation of their freedom from bondage; just one more weight upon the slave-owner's prostrate form. What wonder, then, that day by day, the fortifications grow apace? The hearts of the laborers are in their work.

Great satisfaction is evinced by the soldiers in this vicinity upon the receipt of the news that spades are to be ordered to the rear and muskets to the front. They are equally well pleased with the thought that the spades are to be given to the colored men and the muskets retained in their proper hands. Instead of guarding the property of rebels, cooking, washing, digging trenches and piling up dirt with a shovel, as they have done in the past, the soldiers say they can now reserve their strength for fighting the enemy, and employ their leisure by learning their duty by drill and study of the profession of arms.—*Chicago Tribune.*

THE USE OF NEGROES.—*Memphis, Tenn., Saturday, Aug. 9.*—Gen. Sherman has issued orders that all negroes applying for work be employed as laborers at Fort Pickering, and shall be entitled to draw rations and be supplied with necessary clothing, but that no wages be paid them until the courts determine whether they are slave or free, and accounts with each and credit for labor given—slaves to be allowed to return to their masters at the close of any week, but masters not allowed to enter the lines of any post. The Quartermaster is allowed to employ negroes on the same conditions, and, if necessary, to take them by force. Commanders of regiments are allowed to take a number, not to exceed five, for cooks and teamsters. Negroes are not allowed to wear uniforms. Gen. Sherman tells the people of Memphis and vicinity that it is not the intention to disturb the relation of master and slave, and when the Courts are reestablished they will decide the cases which have already arisen or may arise.

THE BLACK COLONY AT ST. SIMONS'S ISLAND.—*Hilton Head, S. C., Aug. 15.*—I have just returned from a very pleasant trip, lasting more than a week, with Gen Saxton and Staff, to St. Simons's Island. Geo., and Fernandina and St. Augustine, Fla. The object was to inquire after the condition of the negro refugees—about 1,700 in number—who have sought our protection at these places since we have held them against the rebels. I am unable now to give a detailed account of the trip, which furnished many interesting incidents. Schools were established and provided with white teachers, meetings held where the physical as well as spiritual comfort of the audience was attended to and encouragement and guidance given to these, in some cases bewildered possessors of a new-found liberty.

We found the negroes at St. Simons's Island in a state of unwonted commotion. A guerilla party—numbering from twenty-five to thirty rebels had landed upon the upper end of the island, and their capture was resolved on. Capt. Goldsborough, of the gunboat Florida, had a force of marines on shore, and these, with a negro band of thirty men, were scouring the woods and swamps for the intruders. On the morning of our arrival the rebels were come up with by the negro scouting party, and quite a lively skirmish resulted. The negroes stood their ground manfully, returning shot for shot with the guerillas, and returned to report that they had had one killed and three wounded in the affair, and that the loss was not all on their side. After this, a company of the South Carolina Volunteers, brought down on the Ben Deford, by Gen. Saxton, were sent ashore to assist in the hunt, and the pursuit had been maintained for a week when we left St. Simons's. Capt. Goldsborough did not doubt that the rebels were still on the island, concealed in the swamps, and was certain of eventually capturing them, as their means of transportation to the main land—a distance more than a mile—had been destroyed, and it was scarcely probable that the rascals could swim the river.—*Times.*

A BLACK UNIONIST.—The Springfield *Republic* (Ohio) has a letter from a Union soldier dated Murfreesboro, Tenn., Aug. 7, which says: "How very annoying are the Unionists sometimes to the purse-proud rebels! Those of Murfreesboro can reëcho this complaint. A large amount of government stores were in the warehouses at the time of the Forest raid. The warehouses were destroyed, and it was presumed by those that reoccupied the town that the stores were destroyed with them. But the trustful slave, the faithful guardian of his master's honor and rights, his boast and the stay of his pride, came to us voluntarily, and told us that their respective masters plundered the buildings, and secreted the stolen goods in their own dwellings, previous to the warehouses being set on fire. More: They told us what articles each of their masters possessed, and the exact hiding place. A search, which goes on almost daily, and the recovery of Uncle Sam's goods, is somewhat astounding and shocking to the pride of the aristocratic natives. Garrets and bed-chambers are the principal places of deposit. Shouldn't wonder if they had learned a lesson, not to place such implicit confidence in their chattels again."

THE MITCHELLIAN POLICY.—*Iuka, Miss., Aug. 12.*—There is a change of policy. The President's order is somewhat observed, though yesterday the officers of the 27th Illinois drove away a lot of negroes who had sought protection in the camp, and many of them were retaken by their masters, to be shot, no doubt, for that is now the common fate of all slaves who have given indications of uneasiness. It is told as truth, in secesh circles here, that 120 negroes who were captured at Lebanon, Tenn., by the rebel forces, a few weeks ago, were hanged publicly. Whether true or not, this is the report industriously circulated where it will most likely reach the ears of the negroes. The design of this is to terrify them, and make them *contented* (?). Its effect will be to hasten and intensify the horrors of a day not far distant, which our own unwise policy will have greatly contributed to. Could the safety-valve have been left open, and these discontented ones found relief in flight, there would have been much less of those deep murmurings which indicate the burnings of subterranean fires which will find vent in a terrible eruption if the open crater does not allow a gradual escape of the disturbing element. Be it so. Whoever sows to the wind shall reap the whirlwind.

A wealthy planter living some twenty miles south of this place, not knowing the change which had come over the spirit of our dreams, came into camp the other day, for two of his "boys," who, in an ungrateful fit, had gone to work on our fortifications here. In the true spirit of a tyrant he *demanded* their surrender. And why not? Had we not always obeyed orders? When the Colonel of the 27th Illinois told him that he could not give them up, secesh got mad. Indeed, he felt insulted and chose to say that he would be revenged, that he would. "He was a rich man—able to support a guerilla band for a year, and he'd be d—d if he didn't do it." After no little of such stuff he was permitted to depart. But in a short time after, a detail of true men, with a lot of waggons and cavalry were in hot pursuit of him, who reached his plantation before morning, and gave him a most pressing invitation to dance attendance upon Gen. Mitchell. They invited his darkies, at least some fifty of them, to work for the Union, and the waggons hauled off some fifty bales of cotton, which now lie on the platform here waiting shipment North.—*Tribune.*

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.—*St. Louis, Aug. 17.*—A forward movement—this time in the right direction—has recently taken place in this Military District, which is worthy of imitation elsewhere. The Provost-Marshal General has seized and emancipated twenty-two slaves claimed to belong to Willis Hoard, Wm. Gardner, and one Doran—all active and noisy rebels, who have been arrested and confined in the Gratiot Street Prison. The negroes, on Friday, received their free papers. There were twelve of them in one family, women and children included. It was reported yesterday that kidnappers were on their track, trying to persuade the delighted creatures to go into the interior of Missouri, on the promise of comfortable homes and good wages; but this game was blocked by the efforts of a few intelligent free colored men, who provided them with means to reach a safer locality. The conduct of Provost-Marshal General Farrar in this instance shows what an officer can do who has the least disposition to respect the Confiscation Act passed by the last Congress. It is clearly the duty of every officer knowing the law to obey its precepts, whether he has had explicit official instructions on that particular point or not.

Gen. Curtis has been engaged in quietly carrying out the Confiscation Act for months, and is probably far ahead of any other of our Generals now in the field in this respect. The miserable subterfuge by which such pro-slavery Generals as Buell, McCook, and others, avoid their plain duty, is another lesson in the "How Not To Do It" policy. Hereafter, we have a like policy in Missouri. The example set by Gen. Fremont twelve months ago, and successfully imitated within a few days by Provost-Marshal Gen. Farrar, will teach rebels that the day for protecting their human chattels has gone by forever.—*Tribune.*

FLOCKING TO THE CAMPS.—A correspondent of *The Tribune* in the South-west writes: Our camps still swarm with contrabands. They are now coming largely from across the river in Mississippi. What is to be done with them I do not know. O that there was a place of refuge—a land which they could easily reach and become industrious and happy freemen!

The youngest and able-bodied men express not only a willingness, but a desire to be organized into regiments, and permitted to fight for the Union, and their own liberty, but a suicidal policy at Washington forbids, the prejudices of the people of the North-west excludes them from emigrating thither, and the only thing they can do here is to remain with their masters, or become stragglers and followers of the army, except a certain number employed as cooks and teamsters. I trust the events of the war will at last develop a humane and Christian policy toward these people, and that they may not be forever peeled and trodden under foot.

WARNED IN TIME.—A correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, writing from Buell's Division, Lawrence Co., Ala., says: "Our regiment (Seventh Illinois Cavalry) has twice moved its quarters in the night time, *being notified by the only loyal portion of the population there is in this section of the country—viz: the blacks*—that the rebels were coming upon us in overwhelming numbers, and rather than meanly or ingloriously suffer ourselves to be captured, we concluded to retire out of their reach."

A WHITE SLAVE.—A correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, in Buell's department, tells us of a slaveholder who murdered a Union soldier in cold blood, and adds: "There was a young woman of as fair a complexion as most white persons, in possession of this villain, that he claimed as a chattel. She had a child, perhaps a year old, with her, equally white. He had compelled her to marry a mulatto man to cover his his own villany. She asked the protection of the Colonel, and it was decided that she might go North, to Michigan, if she chose. This she did, and set out forthwith. Before leaving, the soldiers were invited to contribute something toward this object. The way they handed over the money made one forget that they were sometimes guilty of speaking roughly and acting a leetle unsoldier-like."

WHAT BECAME OF THE VICKSBURG CONTRABANDS.—*Helena, Ark., Aug. 19.*—It will be remembered that Commodore Farragut had several thousands of negroes employed on the canal, by which he hoped to change the channel of the river at Vicksburg. It will scarcely be believed that these poor people, after being employed in our service for weeks, many of them having come of their own accord, were left by both our fleets to their fate. An eye-witness informs me to-day that he saw many of them begging with tears and lamentations not to be left behind, abandoned without the least regard to their future condition, or the fate that inevitably awaits them, of a severer bondage than that from which they supposed themselves rescued by our arms. It would seem as if a little forethought, and a decent regard to justice and humanity, might have provided means for these innocent people to be transported to some place of safety, without leaving them to be recaptured and reënslaved by their rebel masters.—*Tribune.*

WHITE SLAVERY.—*Helena, Ark., Aug. 19.*—I was greatly surprised the other day by the declaration of a person with whom I had been conversing in the Post-Office of this place, when, in reply to a suggestion of mine about his loyalty, he answered, "Why, my dear sir, I am a slave. I belong to Dr. ———." I looked in his face, unable to believe my own eyes. His complexion was whiter than my own; his eyes a blue gray; his hair and features Caucasian; his language free from the negro dialect. I asked him again, "Is it possible that you are a slave? Why don't you go North and claim the privileges of a freeman?" He answered, "I have a wife and children, and I don't want to go till I can take them with me. I have been allowed by my master to follow the business of a barber in this place, and, by giving him a stipulated sum, have been permitted to enjoy a measure of freedom, and to possess a little property of my own. As soon as I can realize something of this property, I intend, while the opportunity exists, to secure the freedom of myself and family."

Our conversation had commenced upon a written document which he had been showing me, and which he could read as well as myself. When he left me I wondered greatly that such a man, at least 40 years of age, evidently a gentleman and a Christian, could be held a slave, and another white man be allowed to take his wages for naught in a Christian community. And then I remembered that the modern doctrine of the South, as taught by the Richmond *Enquirer*, and other expounders of the system, is that slavery is not based upon complexion or race, but that capital should own labor, and the best condition of society is that in which the entire laboring population are slaves. This is the doctrine on which the leaders of this rebellion are striving to establish a Southern Confederacy, and thousands of laboring men in the South are blindly led to give it their aid by fighting against the government of their fathers from mere sectional hatred and prejudice. *Tribune.*

SEEKING FREEDOM.—*Helena, Ark., Aug. 11.*—The sooty black man is continually escaping from his master in Mississippi and making his appearance within our lines. The other day, while leisurely wandering along the shore of the "sad Mississippi," my attention was arrested by the appearance of a small craft near the opposite shore, apparently drifting toward me, while in it I could plainly discover some dozen bipeds. And, upon nearing me, I saw that it was Africans—sable sons making their escape from the land of bondage. And, as the great father of waters did not give way, that they might pass over, as did the Red Sea to the Israelites, they supplied that Providential interposition with their own genius by constructing a raft. And thus it is with hundreds. They have no idea of remaining longer with their rebel masters, but seek the lines of our army, where they can find work in relieving the soldiers' hard labor.

And as I see that Gen. Pillow is much exercised in mind about his negroes, I will give him all the information I can on that point; and may they be words of comfort to his troubled soul. Prompted by curiosity, I visited his plantations the other day, and found occupants plenty, and his abundant crops of corn were being served to a noble purpose, for they were being extensively taken as feed for the Federal cavalry horses, and one or two fields of hundreds of acres began to look a little barren and deserted. And then it will be a still greater consolation to him to learn that *his negroes* are doing a blessed work, for they are daily marched in squads to the landing, and there are cheerfully permitted to relieve the Yankees by unloading boats of commissary stores, and many of them pride themselves by whirling a whip over a six mule team, and so far as outward appearances indicate, they are all cheerful and happy with their lot. Now, if these words of information will be any consolation whatever to Gideon J., he is welcome to them, I am sure, for they have been spoken in tenderest regard for his feelings.

Cumberland Gap, Aug. 13.—Virginia and Tennessee slaves get into the army here occasionally. Mrs. Willis, a decided old secesh lady, lost a dozen of her movable property a month since. The greater part of them were juveniles, but the parents of older ones made for a Tennessee brigade, commanded by that noble old soldier Gen. Spear. He refused to give them up. Mrs. W. got a smooth-faced, sanctified-spoken neighbor to visit the Provost-Marshal's office to get authority to return them to bondage. The Marshal told him that Virginia and Tennessee had repudiated the Fugitive Slave law, and he had no authority in the premises; were she a resident of Kentucky and took the proper steps, he would restore them! A few days afterward the brigade moved. The negroes gathered up their traps and followed in the rear. As they got beyond the lines of the encampment the old secesh viper seized one of the little ones and got a neighbor to seize two more—the others quickened their steps and mingled with the soldiers and escaped with them. Had they been cows, horses, mules or sheep, the army would have found a profitable place for them!—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

UP THE MISSOURI.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, accompanying an expedition up the Missouri, writes under date Lexington, Aug. 15: "At one of the first landings made, a contraband was seen running at full speed up the river bank below us, and although we pulled the yawl some distance, he did not slacken his pursuit until we came to shore and took him aboard. He proved to be the *property* of an officer in the rebel army, and so became a lawful prize. We dubbed him Wat Essex, and, rejoicing in the prospect of his freedom, he is now engaged in attending the messes of both companies. To show how rapidly public opinion has changed on such matters within the year, I may relate that when this poor, breathless fellow stepped on board the yawl one universal cheer went up from the members of the companies on the steamer awaiting us at a distance in the mid-stream, and it is safe to say that less than a twelvemonth ago nine-tenths of those very men would have looked upon such a thing with the utmost reprobation. The world does move, out here even, and God's mills are grinding not only surely but swiftly in these parts.

"On our return we were overtaken by a couple of contrabands, whose intentions were plainly manifest by the bundles under their arms. I asked one of them if he wanted to be free. 'Yes, indeed I does, Massa,' was the ready reply; but we were not permitted to pass them within the lines of our guard, they were again, no doubt, consigned to bondage, to await some better opportunity to escape than our visit afforded them. They will not be compelled to wait long, probably, as scarcely a day passes but some troop of soldiers comes by to 'confiscate the contrabands,' and those now remaining have very intelligent ideas of the blessings of freedom, as also the best means to employ to obtain it. They (the slaves) are melting away rapidly, and if the war in Missouri continues one year longer, we shall need no Emancipation Act, for there will be no slaves to emancipate."

FROM HARPER'S FERRY.—*Harper's Ferry, Aug. 23.*—One of the negroes belonging to John Brown's original company lives unmolested here, so rapidly has public sentiment changed. In your issue of Thursday, you call upon the government to use negroes in any way in which they may be of service to the country. People here will tell you that the rebels use them most effectually as soldiers. When Johnson occupied this place, there was an entire regiment of negroes under him belonging to Alabama. They were distributed among a brigade of Alabama troops, two companies to each regiment, and to all appearances took to soldiering as naturally as their white masters.—*N. Y. Times.*

GEN. HUNTER'S DEPARTMENT.—Gen. Hunter, in a General Order dated Port Royal, Aug. 19, says:

"It is with deep regret that the General Commanding the Department has received several reports against officers for returning fugitive slaves, in direct violation of a law of Congress. It will hardly be believed when it is announced that a New England Colonel is to-day, in the second year of the rebellion, in arrest for having been engaged in the manly task of turning over a young woman, whose skin was almost as white as his own, to the cruel lash of her rebel master.

"Numerous acts of pilfering from the negroes have taken place in the neighborhood of Beaufort, committed by men wearing the uniform of the United States; I cannot and will not disgrace the name by calling them soldiers. To enable Gen. Saxon to have these petty thieves arrested and sent to this post for punishment, the three companies of the Fourth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, now at Beaufort, will be placed exclusively under his command, for the service of the plantations."

This way of doing things contrasts very favorably with late proceedings in some other military departments—Gen. Butler's for instance. Here is another Order, which shows how things are managed in the only part of South Carolina where the authority of the United States is enforced:

HEADQUARTERS, BEAUFORT, S. C., Aug. 5, 1862.

To the Superintendents of Plantations:

GENTLEMEN: You are required to appear at the office of the General Commanding, at these headquarters, between the 15th and 31st of the present month, for the purpose of taking the oath, a copy of which is hereto appended. By order of

Brig.-Gen. R. SAXTON, Commanding.

I, ——, believing that negro slavery is a great wrong to humanity, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully perform, to the best of my ability, my duty as Superintendent of Plantations in this Department, and, as such, will use all the means in my power so to educate and elevate the people under my control as to fit them to enjoy the blessings of freedom; that to the best of my knowledge, I will deal fairly and honestly with them, and respect, and cause all others under my jurisdiction to respect, their rights; that I will not engage in trade with them for my own profit, or appropriate any of the proceeds of their labor to my own personal advantage—so help me God.

FROM NEW ORLEANS.—Gen. Butler, to guard against the dangers of a *white* insurrection, lately made an order requiring the surrender of all weapons of war in private hands, and offering liberal rewards to any person giving information leading to the discovery of such weapons—the weapons to be confiscated. The order contained this paragraph:

"This crime [the concealment of arms] being an overt act of rebellion against the authority of the United States, whether by a citizen or an alien, works a forfeiture of the property of the offender, and therefore, *every slave giving information that shall discover the concealed arms of his or her master, shall be held to be emancipated.*"

The French Consul complained that the order was applied to French citizens, pleading the danger of a negro insurrection as a reason why they should be permitted to retain their arms. He said:

"For some time past unmistakable signs have manifested themselves among the servile population of the city and surrounding country of their intention to break the bonds that bind them to their masters, and many persons apprehend an actual revolt. It is these signs, this prospect of finding ourselves completely unarmed, in the presence of a population from which the greatest excesses are feared, that we are above all things justly alarmed; for the result of such a state of things would fall on all alike who were left without the means of self-defence."

To this Gen. Butler responded:

"Of the disquiet which you say there are signs manifesting themselves among the black population, of a desire to break the bonds which bind them to their masters, I have been a not inattentive observer, without wonder, because it would seem natural, when their masters had set them the example of rebellion against constituted authorities, that the negroes, being an imitative race, should do likewise. But surely the representative of the Emperor, who does not tolerate slavery in France, does not desire his countrymen to be armed for the purpose of preventing the negroes from breaking their bonds. Let me assure you that the protection of the United States against violence, either by negroes or white men, whether citizens or foreign, will continue to be as perfect as it has been since our advent here."

Gen. Butler, it seems, is furnishing slave-drivers for the plantations. *The True Delta* of Aug. 17 says: "We learned from Lieutenant Dryden this morning that he had succeeded in distributing his patrol force along the lower coast plantations, on the right bank, without meeting with any serious opposition. On plantations where the negroes had shown signs of insubordination he called them up and gave them to understand that the former rules and regulations of the plantations were to be rigidly enforced, and that the patrol were sent there by military authority for the purpose of enforcing existing rules and regulations. The negroes all went to work seemingly contented. But we learn that this patrol is to be short-lived, as those composing it have not taken the oath of allegiance to the Federal government. Their places will doubtless be supplied by those who have."

PROPOSALS FOR A SCHOOL.

A LADY of this city of many years experience in teaching, believing that a change is required in the present systems of instruction, purposes to establish a school in which a liberal and enlightened philosophy may be inculcated, as the only true basis upon which an educational superstructure of harmonial proportions can be reared. Conscious of the very great difficulties in the way of such an enterprise, she desires, before commencing it, to be assured of a sufficient amount of patronage to secure success. Already, however, arrangements have been made with eminent teachers and professors subject to the contingency of success or failure.

One of these—a lady of great ability—was for years a teacher of the ancient languages, classics and mathematics at Mr. Weld's school, Eagleswood.

Foreign professors are engaged for their native languages. The primary and preparatory departments will receive the greatest care and will be conducted to some extent on the Kindergarten system. No sectarianism will be inculcated, but all will be tolerated.

It is a part of the proposed plan to limit the number of boarding and day pupils.

For names, terms and address, apply to the Editor of this paper.

Summary.

Gen. C. P. Stone, who was arrested after the battle of Ball's Bluff on the suspicion of being a traitor, and confined in Fort Lafayette, has been released. Why he should be released without a court martial is a mystery that we suppose will be explained when the government hasn't anything more important to do.

Capt. Alex. H. Todd, a brother of President Lincoln's wife, was killed in the attack on Baton Rouge. He was a young gentleman of fine accomplishments, great personal daring, exceeding amiability, and the warmest home affections. But the evening before he wrote to his mother, and just before the accident he was conversing with Lieut. L. F. Payne, ordnance officer of the brigade, communicating the messages he wished conveyed home, in case of his fall.

PARSON BROWNLOW, in a letter to the Nashville *Union*, says: "I have nothing to disguise, Mr. Editor, in regard to this infernal rebellion. I am for crushing it out—no matter at what cost. I am for subjugation, coercion and extermination, if these measures are necessary to put down the rebellion and sustain the government of the United States. I know the origin of the rebellion, and I know the originators; and nothing short of an old-fashioned hell, that burns with fire and brimstone, will reward them adequately for their services!"

HOW IT STRIKES A SOUTHERNER.—A Tennessee merchant, writing on business to a firm in New York, adds:

"P. S.—Will you excuse me? If you have any friends that are of the would-be Conservatives, tell them that *it don't pay*. As a Tennessean, I have seen concession and conciliation tried, but without effect. Mr. Secesh does not fear Mr. Lincoln: he fears the non-slaveholder *here*, and the want of political pro-slavery power. His charges are mere catchwords."

ONE OF SHAKSPEARE'S PALL-BEARERS BURIED AT FREDERICKSBURG.—In the old burying-ground at Fredericksburg, Virginia, is a tombstone with the following inscription:

"Here lies the body of Edward Helder, practitioner in physic chirurgery. Born in Bedfordshire, England, in the year of our Lord 1542. Was contemporary with and one of the pall-bearers to the body of William Shakspeare. After a brief illness his spirit ascended in the year of our Lord 1618, aged seventy-six."

RETALIATION.—Col. Daniels, of the First Wisconsin Cavalry, lately paid off a rebel in his own coin at Madison, Arkansas. The rebel Provost-Marshal of the place, named Heustis, had put a Union soldier in the jail on the charge of being a spy, where he remained a week, with just food enough to keep him alive. His cell had never been cleaned, and when Col. Daniels found him he was covered with filth and vermin. On hearing the facts the Colonel immediately put Heustis in the cell, which was ordered to be left in the same condition in which Heustis's victim had left it.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE CONFISCATION ACT.—One reason why the government has been so slack in enforcing the Confiscation Act is understood to lie in the interpretation which the President has put upon it. He holds, as we understand, that judicial proceedings are requisite, both in respect to property and to slaves, before confiscation or emancipation can be effected under the law. That this was the intention of the framers of the act, few who heard the discussions in Congress can believe.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

COME BACK AN ABOLITIONIST.—Rev. Hiram Eddy, one of the Bull Run prisoners lately returned from Richmond, made a speech, a few days since, in Northampton, Mass., in the course of which, as we learn from *The Free Press* of that place, he said: "When I went down South I went to fight for the government as an anti-slavery man. I have come back an *Abolitionist*. I wish to be known as an Abolitionist, and if I have a posthumous reputation, I then wish to be known as an Abolitionist—one who was in favor of *immediate and unconditional* emancipation. Would to God I had been one *twenty-five years ago*."

A soldier in the "Army of the South-west," writes us (*Tribune*) from Helena, Arkansas, as follows:

"Public opinion has changed greatly on the negro question since we came to Arkansas, and many regret that President Lincoln refuses to arm the blacks. They can be got by the regiment, stout, able-bodied *men*, and men that will fight, too with a heavy hand, for the cause we are sworn to uphold. But unfortunately for them and us, they are not all light-skinned as we are. We have a boy of fourteen in our camp, whose *master* lives ten miles from here in Missouri, who shows none of the characteristics of the African race, neither features, hair, eyes, complexion, or dialect being like the negro. Yours, H. L. W."

BITING A FILE.—The correspondent who furnished the New York *Observer* with an account of the late commencement at Williams College makes the following allusion to the orator of the literary societies: "Upon Monday afternoon the Adelphic Union Society was addressed by William Lloyd Garrison. Strange to say, instead of a furious onslaught upon the educational institutions and upon the literary and religious men assembled at Williamstown, for their supineness and indifference to the fate of the negro race, we only heard a very mild and tiresome speech upon slavery under the control of God, and emancipation the duty of our government. Few of the great crowd in attendance upon Commencement were present at the church, and few of these shared the sentiments of the speaker."

THE WATERING PLACES have been unusually full this season. At Saratoga gay throngs have crowded the piazzas and drawing-rooms of the great hotels, until teeming over they have filled the cottages beside. The same is true also of Newport, Sharon, Long Branch, and other places of lesser note. The boast of the chivalry that they alone have supported these places of fashionable resort at the North is effectually silenced by the fact that they are now more prosperous than ever All their other boasts will in the same way vanish into thin air when we shall have the courage to use our might against them. Shall we never learn this lesson? The world has never seen so gigantic a humbug as that of Southern pretensions. How long must we wait before we shall be permitted to strike with all our force, with all the weapons that God has placed within our reach, and explode it utterly and forever?—*Tribune.*

THE PRESIDENT, as I happen to know, is greatly exercised upon the subject of slavery, and especially so within a few weeks. Three or four days ago he sent for one of the ablest and wisest, yet most radical of the anti-slavery Republicans, and discussed with him the whole question of immediate emancipation. He was not ready to take bold ground, but he is not satisfied with his present position—*that* is evident enough. The tremendous pressure at the North and in the West upon him in relation to this question he feels, and more intensely every day. If I were at liberty to quote his exact words in the interview alluded to, I could show that the President is debating the question in his own mind, and that there is hope he will make a righteous decision. Every honest hater of slavery in the country has it in his power to aid in making that decision an upright one.—*Wash. Cor. Independent.*

"THE LOST FOUND."—One of the deacons in the Church at Hilton Head has lately found his wife, who was sold from him fourteen years ago. He heard that she had lately come to Beaufort, whither he went in search of her. He found her in the street, with a basket of watermelons on her head. He called, "Say, you nigger, what for you got that basket of watermelons on your head?" She did not recognize him. He repeated the call as he approached. She knew him. The lost were found. The dead were come to life again.

A father has lately found his son, a young man of twenty years or more, who was sold away when only six years old. Surely war has its sweet as well as its bitter fruits.—*Independent.*

BLACK LOYALISTS.—The Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*, giving an account of the visit of returned officers, late prisoners at Richmond, to the War Department, says: "The exchanged officers all agree that there is very little visible loyalty in the South. 'I never liked the niggers,' said a Lieutenant, 'but they were the only persons who seemed to understand our position, and tried to help us when they could safely. There was one active Union woman who sympathized with us and sent us trifles, and was snubbed for it by all her neighbors. There were a few loyal men who gave us a smile now and then, but they had to prove their friendship. The darkies we always trusted at sight.' Capt. Percy Wyndham said: 'The leaders in the South all told us this was a war on one side for slavery, and on the other side for abolition. The negroes in Richmond so understand it, but in the Carolinas they were puzzled. They were completely against the rebels, as far as they could be, and our friends; and when we came out under the flag of truce, they met us with rude congratulations, and were glad with us that we were free.'"

JEFF. DAVIS CONVERTED.—A correspondent of *The Tribune* at Sperryville, Va., had an interview with Mrs. Philip Thornton, the only survivor of one of the oldest families in Virginia. He says: "Mrs. Thornton spent last winter in Richmond, and was upon social standing with the leading ladies in the Rebel Capital. She declares it is the intention of Jeff. Davis to burn Richmond if compelled to leave it, and that the inhabitants of the city will submit to the sacrifice. At the time she was there great distress prevailed among all classes of people. Jeff. Davis himself appeared desponding. Much of his time was absorbed in religious reflections until the close of the winter, when he entertained the hope that he had found peace with God and united with the Episcopal Church and partook of the Holy Sacrament. She asserts positively that overtures have been made to both France and England to become colonies of either one of those nations."

GOV. BADGER AND HIS MAMMY.—Hon. George E. Badger of N. C. is a model Conservative of the slaveholding school. In the U. S. Senate he distinguished himself by his zeal in sustaining that Nebraska bill which was destined to destroy his party and, in its ultimate consequences, rend and desolate the country. He evinced a constitutional inability to comprehend the argument for resisting slavery extension. "There," said he, in illustration and enforcement of his view of the question, "is my poor old black mammy, who nursed me in my infancy, watched over my childhood, and who loves me, as I love her, with a genuine affection. Is it not hard, if I should choose to migrate to Nebraska, that you should forbid me to take her along? Why should you do it?"—"The Senator is mistaken," promptly replied Ben Wade: "we *do not* forbid his taking his old mammy with him to Nebraska. We only say that he shall not *sell* her after he gets her there."—*Horace Greeley, in The Independent.*

REV. THOMAS K. BEECHER AND HIS WORK.—Col. Diven, M.C., and Lieut.-Col. Van Valkenburgh, M.C., issue the following card conjointly, as an evidence of the good work done by Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, of Elmira, a *younger son of* Dr. Lyman Beecher and brother of the distinguished family:

TO THE PUBLIC.—We desire to tender to Rev. Thomas K. Beecher our acknowledgments for the efficient service he has rendered in raising the One Hundred and Seventh Regiment of New-York State Volunteers. At the commencement of the effort he tendered his services in any capacity, even to volunteering as a private. He has attended and spoken at about forty meetings, and we believe we are largely indebted to his patriotic appeals for our success in placing our regiment first in the field. He was ready to join the regiment as a private, but we are convinced that his talents can be more profitably employed for his country.
A. S. DIVEN,
R. B. VAN VALKENBURGH.

EQUALITY.—Two men—let us call them, for illustration, Bennett and Garnett—have lived for thirty or forty years in the same community—the one pandering to every vice, exciting every bad passion, inflaming every senseless and mischievous prejudice, the oracle of every haunt of infamy, the champion of every gainful wrong, the varnisher of every prosperous villany, the libeller of every philanthropist, the scoffer at every holy emotion, the defamer of every generous enterprise, the terror of the good and the mercenary tool of the devilish.

The other, in a humbler sphere and with far scantier means, has devoted those years to patient labor among the poorest and most despised fragment of our city's population—enlightening their minds, amending their morals, chastening their appetites, gently leading them into the ways of industry and virtue, restraining them in prosperity, cheering them in affliction, and consoling them in death.

Who could imagine that the former of these characters would have the besotted foolhardiness to challenge a comparison with the latter by prating of equals and non-equals? Who could conceive that he would consider himself the equal of any one who gained his living by modes esteemed honest and laudable by man and acceptable in the sight of God?—*Tribune.*

AN AGED SLAVE.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Sperryville, Va., gives this account of an aged slave, whom he met at the residence of Mrs. Philip Thornton, sole proprietor of all that is left of the once vast Thornton estate: Mrs. Thornton said she would show me a curiosity she thought I had never seen, in the person of an old negro woman, 110 years old, who had been in the Thornton family all her life. In a few moments old Mammy Katy came into the room, walking alone, with no support whatever, not even a cane. See came up to me, extended her hand, and with a kind, benevolent smile, said she was glad to see any one who took an interest in her old mistress. She then gave me a short history of her life; said she remembered having seen George Washington frequently; that in Midsummer he used to visit this region to see family friends, and enjoy the cool mountain breezes; that she remembered four wars—the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the present one, which she considered the worst war of all. Mrs. Thornton told me that for the past twenty years Mammy Katy has not been called upon to do any work; that she has been entirely devoted to religious matters, spends nearly all her time in reading her Bible and talking with the slaves upon religious subjects. Her influence with the slaves has been and still is very great, and nearly all of them have become members of the Church through her instructions. Since the rebellion Mrs. Thornton has lost but few slaves, and she attributes it to the "wise counsels of Mammy Katy, who has always told them not to leave." This interesting old negress cannot weigh more than 60 or 70 pounds. She is nothing but skin and bones, but her face, black, thin and emaciated as it is, is almost radiant with spirituality. I never saw a finer expression in my life.

THE HERALD AND THE NEGRO.—The New York *Herald* has entered upon a discussion with *The Anglo African*—the organ of the colored people of this city—upon the respective merits of the two papers. As it is an interesting question, we copy the reply of the African to the Scotchman:

"In an article in *The Herald*, of April 1, entitled "The Negro in Town," that paper takes occasion to poke fun at the comparatively stringent pecuniary circumstances of our humble issues, monthly and weekly. A friend, on reading this fling, bids us not to be discouraged. He assures us that one of the largest newspapers in the city was

'Born in a garret, in a kitchen bred';

that said paper, twenty odd years ago, emerged daily from a cellar down town, about half the size of *The Weekly Anglo-African*, and one day the editor made a most piteous appeal for some one to lend him three hundred dollars to save his paper from ruin. This friend—a colored mechanic at that time, a retired gentleman now—had made up his mind to go and lend the editor in question three hundred dollars, when, on opening the paper next day, he found a violent article against the negroes. This shut up that gentleman's pocket, but he understood that a colored brother (our namesake, but no relation) *did* lend the editor of that sheet the three hundred dollars, and thus saved the New York *Herald* from an early death. *So the New York Herald at this moment actually owes its existence to a timely loan from a negro capitalist!* Both *The Herald* and the capitalist "*still live*," and the capitalist is said, on many subsequent occasions, to have *contributed to the success and notoriety of The Herald and its proprietor, in every way in which both are or have been notorious.*"

A TRAITOR CAUGHT.—Gen. Robert B. Michell, on his return from the battle of Bar Springs, concluded to test the loyalty of an old planter, who had often visited the camp at Jacinto, as a pedler of onions and other luxuries. A part of his staff were sent forward to procure lodgings for Gen. Price, who, they were to allege, had been reconnoitering around with an army, and after a sharp engagement had whipped the Unionists, and taken a large lot of prisoners. The old planter was delighted to see Gen. Price, and to hear of his success and his prospects, and Gen. Price was equally delighted with the important information his host gave him as to the number and localities of the Union forces, all of which the planter assured him he had obtained from personal observation in the guise of a pedler. His two sons and a nephew corroborated the statements, and volunteered to lead Gen. Price to the Union army in the morning. The General, grateful for this information, asked for the true friends of the Confederacy in the neighborhood, and for things which they had done to prove their fidelity, so that before morning he had a list of twenty or more who had done numerous things worthy of mention, and who were beyond question loyal to the South under all emergencies, most of whom had, like the host and his family, visited the Union camps. At a late hour, the planter and his guests went to bed, to wake up in the morning and find the yard full of blue pants with muskets, guarding some 20 or more disarmed butternuts, and guarding, at the same time, the house and its inmates. How Gen. Mitchell managed to apologize suitably for the mistake he had made, I am not informed. I only know that old Secesh found himself sold without *price*, and that he and his sons and nephew, in no very amiable mood, accompanied Gen. Mitchell to his quarters, where they are now prisoners of war.—*Cor. Tribune.*

Advertisements.

MRS. K. G. SATTERIE has a few Furnished Rooms to let, with or without board, at No. 143 Second Avenue, corner of East Ninth street, New York. Three of these, on the first and second floors, are spacious parlor-bedrooms, about twenty feet square. Price, according to the size and location of the rooms.

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New York, July 4, 1862.

REFERENCES.

William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley,
Robert Dale Owen, Marcus Spring,
Sydney Howard Gay, Oliver Johnson,
Theodore Tilton.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

LUCRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD,
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE,
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WM. S. HEYWOOD, A. B. HEYWOOD, } Principals.

Hopedale, Milford, Mass., August 4, 1862.

MILITARY EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES. Historical notes on the employment of negroes in the American army of the Revolution, by GEORGE H. MOORE, Librarian of N. Y. Historical Society, 10 cents. Copies sent by mail on receipt of price. Published by CHARLES T. EVANS, 532 Broadway.

REMOVAL. Dr. R. T. HALLOCK, *Eclectic and Homœopathic Physician*, has removed to No. 79 East Fifteenth Street (New York). A few patients can be accommodated with rooms and board, and receive treatment from him or any other physician whom they may prefer.

Miscellaneous Department.

MEN OF THE NORTHLAND.

MEN of the Northland! where's the manly spirit
Of the true-hearted and the unshackled gone?
Sons of old freemen! do we but inherit
Their names alone?

Is the old Pilgrim spirit quenched within us?
Stoops the strong manhood of our souls so low
That Mammon's lure or Party's wile can win us
To silence now?

Now, when our land to ruin's brink is verging,
In God's name let us speak while there is time!
Now, when the padlocks for our lips are forging,
Silence is crime!

What! shall we henceforth humbly ask as favors
Rights all our own? In madness shall we barter
For treacherous peace the freedom Nature gave us,
God and our charter?

Here shall the statesman forge his human fetters,
Here the false jurist human rights deny,
And in the Church their proud and skilled abettors
Make truth a lie!

Torture the pages of the hallowed Bible,
To sanction crime, and robbery, and blood!
And, in Oppression's hateful service, libel
Both man and God!

Shall our New England stand erect no longer,
But stoop in chains upon her downward way,
Thicker to gather on her limbs, and stronger
Day after day?

Oh, no: methinks from all her wild green mountains—
From valleys where her slumbering fathers lie—
From her blue rivers and her welling fountains,
And clear, cold sky—

From her rough coast and isles which hungry ocean
Gnaws with his surges—from the fisher's skiff,
With white sail swaying to the billow's motion
Round rock and cliff—

From the free fireside of her unbought farmer—
From her free laborer at his loom and wheel—
From the brown smithshop, where beneath the hammer
Rings the red steel—

From each and all, if God hath not forsaken
Our land, and left us to an evil choice,
Loud as the summer's thunderbolt shall waken
A People's voice!

Startling and stern! the Northern winds shall bear it
Over Potomac's to St. Mary's wave;
And buried Freedom shall awake to hear it
Within her grave.

Oh, let that voice go forth! the bondman sighing
By Santee's wave, in Mississippi's cane,
Shall feel the hope, within his bosom dying,
Revive again.

Let it go forth! The millions who are gazing
Sadly upon us from afar shall smile,
And unto God devout thanksgiving raising,
Bless us the while.

Oh for your ancient freedom, pure and holy,
For the deliverance of a groaning earth,
For the wronged captive, bleeding, crushed, and lowly,
Let it go forth!

Sons of the best of fathers! will ye falter
With all they left ye perilled and at stake!
Ho! once again on freedom's holy altar
The fire awake!

Prayer-strengthened for the trial, come together,
Put on the harness for the moral fight,
And with the blessing of your Heavenly Father,
MAINTAIN THE RIGHT!

J. G. WHITTIER.

THE PRAYER OF TWENTY MILLIONS.

To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

DEAR SIR: I do not intrude to tell you—for you must know already—that a great proportion of those who triumphed in your election, and of all who desire the unqualified suppression of the rebellion now desolating our country, are sorely disappointed and deeply pained by the policy you seem to be pursuing with regard to the slaves of rebels. I write only to set succinctly and unmistakably before you what we require, what we think we have a right to expect, and of what we complain.

I. We require of you, as the first servant of the Republic, charged especially and preëminently with this duty, that you EXECUTE THE LAWS. Most emphatically do we demand that such laws as have been recently enacted, which therefore may fairly be presumed to embody the *present* will and to be dictated by the *present* needs of the Republic, and which, after due consideration, have received your personal sanction, shall by you be carried into full effect, and that you publicly and decisively instruct your subordinates that such laws exist, that they are binding on all functionaries and citizens, and that they are to be obeyed to the letter.

II. We think you are strangely and disastrously remiss in the discharge of your official and imperative duty with regard to the emancipating provisions of the new Confiscation Act. Those provisions were designed to fight slavery with liberty. They prescribe that men loyal to the Union, and willing to shed their blood in her behalf, shall no longer be held, with the Nation's consent, in bondage to persistent, malignant traitors, who for twenty years have been plotting and for sixteen months have been fighting to divide and destroy our country. Why these traitors should be treated with tenderness by you, to the prejudice of the dearest rights of loyal men, we cannot conceive.

III. We think you are unduly influenced by the councils, the representations, the menaces, of certain fossil politicians hailing from the Border Slave States. Knowing well that the heartily, unconditionally loyal portion of the white citizens of those States do not expect nor desire that slavery shall be upheld to the prejudice of the Union (for the truth of which we appeal not only to every Republican residing in those States, but to such eminent loyalists as H. Winter Davis, Parson Brownlow, the Union Central Committee of Baltimore, and to the Nashville *Union*), we ask you to consider that slavery is everywhere the inciting cause and sustaining base of treason: the most slaveholding sections of Maryland and Delaware being this day, though under the Union flag, in full sympathy with the rebellion, while the free-labor portions of Tennessee and of Texas, though writhing under the bloody heel of treason, are unconquerably loyal to the Union. So emphatically is this the case, that a most intelligent Union banker of Baltimore recently avowed his confident belief that a majority of the present Legislature of Maryland, though elected as and still professing to be Unionists, are at heart desirous of the triumph of the Jeff. Davis conspiracy; and when asked how they could be won back to loyalty, replied, "Only by the complete abolition of slavery." It seems to us the most obvious truth, that whatever strengthens or fortifies slavery in the Border States strengthens also treason, and drives home the wedge intended to divide the Union. Had you from the first refused to recognize in those States, as here, any other than unconditional loyalty—that which stands for the Union whatever may become of slavery—those States would have been, and would be, far more helpful and less troublesome to the defenders of the Union than they have been, or now are.

IV. We think timid councils in such a crisis calculated to prove perilous, and probably disastrous. It is the duty of a government so wantonly, wickedly assailed by rebellion as ours has been to oppose force to force in a defiant, dauntless spirit. It cannot afford to temporize with traitors nor with semi-traitors. It must not bribe them to behave themselves, nor make them fair promises in the hope of disarming their causeless hostility. Representing a brave and high-spirited people, it can afford to forfeit anything else better than its own self-respect, or their admiring confidence. For our government even to seek, after war has been made on it, to dispel the affected apprehensions of armed traitors that their cherished privileges may be assailed by it, is to invite insult and encourage hopes of its own downfall. The rush to arms of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, is the true answer at once to the rebel raids of John Morgan and the traitorous sophistries of Beriah Magoffin.

V. We complain that the Union cause has suffered, and is now suffering immensely, from mistaken deference to rebel slavery. Had you, sir, in your Inaugural Address, unmistakably given notice that, in case the rebellion already commenced were persisted in, and your efforts to preserve the Union and enforce the laws should be resisted by armed force, *you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in slavery by a traitor*, we believe the rebellion would therein have received a staggering if not a fatal blow. At that moment, according to the returns of the most recent elections, the Unionists were a large majority of the voters of the slave States. But they were composed in good part of the aged, the feeble, the wealthy, the timid—the young, the reckless, the aspiring, the adventurous, had already been largely lured by the gamblers and negro-traders, the politicians by trade and the conspirators by instinct, into the toils of treason. Had you then proclaimed that rebellion would strike the shackles from the slaves of every traitor, the wealthy and the cautious could have been supplied with a powerful inducement to remain loyal. As it was, every coward in the South soon became a traitor from fear; for loyalty was perilous, while treason seemed comparatively safe. Hence the boasted unanimity of the South—a unanimity based on rebel terrorism and the fact that immunity and safety were found on that side, danger and probable death on ours. The rebels from the first have been eager to confiscate, imprison, scourge and kill: we have fought wolves with the devices of sheep. The result is just what might have been expected. Tens of thousands are fighting in the rebel ranks to-day whose original bias and natural leanings would have led them into ours.

VI. We complain that the Confiscation Act which you approved is habitually disregarded by your Generals, and that no word of rebuke for them from you has yet reached the public ear. Fremont's proclamation and Hunter's order favoring emancipation were promptly annulled by you; while Halleck's No. 3, forbidding fugitives from slavery to rebels to come within his lines—an order as unmilitary as inhuman, and which received the hearty approbation of every traitor in America—with scores of like tendency, have never provoked even your remonstrance. We complain that the officers of your armies have habitually repelled rather than invited the approach of slaves who would have gladly taken the risks of escaping from their rebel masters to our camps, bringing intelligence often of inestimable value to the Union cause. We complain that those who *have* thus escaped to us, avowing a willingness to do for us whatever might be required, have been brutally and madly repulsed, and often surrendered to be scourged, maimed and tortured by the ruffian traitors, who pretend to own them. We complain that a large proportion of our regular army officers, with many of the volunteers evince far more solicitude to uphold slavery than to put down the rebellion. And finally, we complain that you, Mr. President, elected as a Republican, knowing well what an abomination slavery is, and how emphatically it is the core and essence of this atrocious rebellion, seem never to interfere with these atrocities, and never give a direction to your military subordinates, which does not appear to have been conceived in the interest of slavery rather than of freedom.

VII. Let me call your attention to the recent tragedy in New Orleans, whereof the facts are obtained entirely through pro-slavery channels. A considerable body of resolute, able-bodied men, held in slavery by two rebel sugar-planters in defiance of the Confiscation Act, which you have approved, left plantations thirty miles distant and made their way to the great mart of the South-West, which they knew to be in the undisputed possession of the Union forces. They made their way safely and quietly through thirty miles of rebel territory, expecting to find freedom under the protection of our flag. Whether they had or had not heard of the passage of the Confiscation Act, they reasoned logically that we could not kill them for deserting the service of their lifelong oppressors, who had through treason become our implacable enemies. They came to us for liberty and protection, for which they were willing to render their best services: they met with hostility, captivity and murder. The barking of the base curs of slavery in this quarter deceives no one—not even themselves. They say, indeed, that the negroes had no right to appear in New Orleans armed (with their implements of daily labor in the cane-field); but no one doubts that they would gladly have laid these down if assured that they should be free. They were set upon and maimed, captured and killed, because they sought the benefit of that act of Congress which they may not specifically have heard of, but which was none the less the law of the land—which they had a clear *right* to the benefit of—which it was *somebody's* duty to publish far and wide, in order that so many as possible should be impelled to desist from serving rebels and the rebellion and come over to the side of the Union. They sought their liberty in strict accordance with the law of the land—they were butchered or reënslaved for so doing by the help of Union soldiers enlisted to fight against slaveholding treason. It was *somebody's* fault that they were so murdered—if others shall hereafter suffer in like manner, in default of explicit and public direction to your Generals that they are to recognize and obey the Confiscation Act, the world will lay the blame on *you*. Whether you will choose to hear it through future history and at the bar of God, I will not judge. I can only hope.

VIII. On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are preposterous and futile—that the rebellion, if crushed out to-morrow, would be renewed within a year if slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers who remain to this day devoted to slavery can at best be but half-way loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your Embassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not at mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slaveholding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair of statesmen of all parties, and be admonished by the general answer!

IX. I close as I began with the statement that what an immense majority of the loyal millions of your countrymen require of you is a frank, declared, unqualified, ungrudging execution of the laws of the land, more especially of the Confiscation Act. That Act gives freedom to the slaves of rebels coming within our lines, or whom those lines may at any time enclose—we ask you to render it due obedience by publicly requiring all your subordinates to recognize and obey it. The rebels are everywhere using the late anti-negro riots in the North, as they have long used your officers' treatment of negroes in the South, to convince the slaves that they have nothing to hope from a Union success—that we mean in that case to sell them into a bitterer bondage to defray the cost of the war. Let them impress this as a truth on the great mass of their ignorant and credulous bondmen, and the Union will never be restored—never. We cannot conquer ten million of people united in solid phalanx against us, powerfully aided by Northern sympathizers and European allies. We must have scouts, guides, spies, cooks, teamsters, diggers and choppers from the blacks of the South, whether we allow them to fight for us or not, or we shall be baffled and repelled. As one of the millions who would gladly have avoided this struggle at any sacrifice but that of principle and honor, but who now feel that the triumph of the Union is indispensable, not only to the existence of our country, but to the well-being of mankind, I entreat you to render a hearty and unequivocal obedience to the law of the land. Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

New York, August 19, 1862.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REPLY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, August 22, 1862.

HON. HORACE GREELEY—*Dear Sir:* I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the N. Y. *Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the National authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Yours, A. LINCOLN.

MR. GREELEY'S RESPONSE.

DEAR SIR: Although I did not anticipate nor seek any reply to my former letter unless through your official acts, I thank you for having accorded one, since it enables me to say explicitly that nothing was further from my thought than to impeach in any manner the sincerity or the intensity of your devotion to the saving of the Union. I never doubted, and have no friend who doubts, that you desire, before and above all else, to reëstablish the now derided authority and vindicate the territorial integrity of the republic. I intended to raise only this question—*Do you propose to do this by recognizing, obeying, and enforcing the laws, or by ignoring, disregarding, and in effect defying them?*

I stand upon the law of the land. The humblest has a clear right to invoke its protection and support against even the highest. That law—in strict accordance with the law of Nations, of Nature, and of God—declares that every traitor now engaged in the infernal work of destroying our country has forfeited thereby all claim or color of right lawfully to hold human beings in slavery. I ask of you a clear and public recognition that this law is to be obeyed wherever the national authority is respected. I cite to you instances wherein men fleeing from bondage to traitors to the protection of our flag have been assaulted, wounded and murdered by soldiers of the Union—unpunished and unrebuked by your General Commanding—to prove that it is your duty to take action in the premises—action that will cause the law to be proclaimed and obeyed wherever your authority or that of the Union is recognized as paramount. The rebellion is strengthened, the national cause is imperilled, by every hour's delay to strike treason this staggering blow.

When Fremont proclaimed freedom to the slaves of rebels, you constrained him to modify his proclamation into rigid accordance with the terms of the existing law. It was your clear right to do so. I now ask of you conformity to the principles so sternly enforced upon him. I ask you to instruct your Generals and Commodores that no loyal person—certainly none willing to render service to the national cause—is henceforth to be regarded as the slave of any traitor. While no rightful government was ever before assailed by so wanton and wicked a rebellion as that of the slaveholders against our national life, I am sure none ever before hesitated at so simple and primary an act of self-defence as to relieve those who would serve and save it from chattel servitude to those who are wading through seas of blood to subvert and destroy it. Future generations will with difficulty realize that there could have been hesitation on this point. Sixty years of general and boundless subserviency to the Slave Power do not adequately explain it.

Mr. President, I beseech you to open your eyes to the fact that the devotees of slavery everywhere—just as much in Maryland as in Mississippi, in Washington as in Richmond—are to-day your enemies, and the implacable foes of every effort to reëstablish the national authority by the discomfiture of its assailants. Their President is not Abraham Lincoln but Jefferson Davis. You may draft them to serve in the war; but they will only fight under the rebel flag. There is not in New York to day a man who really believes in slavery, loves it, and desires its perpetuation, who heartily desires the crushing out of the rebellion. He would much rather save the republic by buying up and pensioning off its assailants. His "Union as it was" is a Union of which you were not President, and no one who truly wished freedom to all ever could be.

If these are truths, Mr. President, they are surely of the gravest importance. You cannot safely approach the great and good end you so intently meditate by shutting your eyes to them. Your deadly foe is not blinded by any mist in which *your* eyes may be enveloped. He walks straight to his goal, knowing well his weak point, and most unwillingly betraying his fear that you too may see and take advantage of it. God grant that his apprehension may prove prophetic.

That you may not unseasonably perceive these vital truths as they will shine forth on the pages of history—that they may be read by our children irradiated by the glory of our national salvation, not rendered lurid by the blood-red glow of national conflagration and ruin—that you may promptly and practically realize that slavery is to be vanquished only by liberty—is the fervent and anxious prayer of Yours, truly,

New York, Aug. 24, 1862. HORACE GREELEY.

THE STATUE OF LINCOLN.

"There is a niche in the Temple of Fame, a niche near to WASHINGTON, which should be occupied by the statue of him who shall save his country. Mr. Lincoln has a mighty destiny. It is for him to be but a President of the people of the United States, and *there will his statue be.*"—*John J. Crittenden.*

WELL hast thou said—John Crittenden!
Albeit the prophet's loftier ken
Be still denied to thee—
"If Abraham Lincoln dare to stand,
The People's Chief—and save this land—
Where Washington towers, calmly grand,
There will his statue be!"

I hail thy words, O Crittenden!
And if thy faith goes with them, then
That faith goes far with me:
But while THY Lincoln's niche awaits
The quarryings of our "Border States,"
MY Lincoln guards the UNION'S gates,
And there his niche shall be!

Beneath that niche—John Crittenden!
His name was graven by History's pen,
When Freedom's sunlit sea,
Upswelling from Potomac's wave,
Bore back the slave-mart and the slave:
And there—where life to souls he gave—
There shall his statue be!

And far away, O Crittenden!
Where dark Liberia's citizen
Thanks God that he is free;
And where the Haytien smites his foes
With doctrines sharper than Monroe's,
There LINCOLN'S name the patriot knows—
There will his statue be!

In vain, in vain, John Crittenden!
Thy Border States and Border Men
Like Canute mock the sea:
Above their whips and chains it rolls,
In billowy tides of loyal souls—
And where, at FREEDOM'S feet, it shoals,
God grant that LINCOLN be!

O silver-tongued John Crittenden!
Sweet are thy words to thoughtful men,
Though hollow sounds from thee:
Where loyal arm and loyal prayer
The standard of this land would bear,
Let ABRAHAM LINCOLN mount—and there,
There will his statue be!

When Lincoln's hand, O Crittenden!
Shall dip within his HEART the pen
That writes this Nation FREE—
Then, towering where the angels climb,
His starry soul shall stand, sublime,
And throned upon all Future Time,
There shall his statue be!

New York, Aug. 6, 1862. A. J. H. DUGANNE.

THE ONLY GROUND.

THERE is now a public sentiment of the world before which all conduct of kings, presidents, rulers, and of nations is judged. Every year the increasing intercourse of nations makes this World Tribunal of greater moral importance. We have been tried before this august sentiment of the good men of the world, and though sentence is suspended, it cannot be disguised that we have gained nothing, but have steadily lost ground in the sympathy, confidence, and approval of those who love liberty. We have long been a reproach by reason of slavery in our midst. We are like to become a stumbling-block to the sacred cause of liberty throughout the world. Our professions are Democratic, our practice despotic. What have we to offer to any under class in Europe, laboring to rise to the rights and dignities of full manhood? The common people of Europe are falling from us. The good and Christian people of Europe are growing more and more cool.

Admit that they are ignorant of facts; that they have been assiduously misinformed; that they are warped by their own selfish commercial biases; that in England there are political reasons why American ideas that are gaining ground should be resisted by the argument of American events; admit that sovereigns dread the foreshadowed thought of a continental republic, and that aristocrats hate the doctrines of political equality that have in America such a dangerous exposition; admit that the South has in all things been shrewder than the North—and in this, especially, that she has filled European capitals with subtile and able men, who gloze in the ears of royalty, and squat in the secret nooks and cabinets where schemes are covertly bred—men expert in corruption, who subsidize the organs of opinion, who supply in overmeasure all the facts and reasonings which make for the South; while we, in the unwise consciousness of right and strength, have disdained to give our friends the means of defending us; admit all these things, and yet, the fact cannot be denied that there is still reason for doubt, for distrust, and for a condemnation of the North among the friends of Human Rights in Europe. We had a right, in the beginning, to reproach English Christians for their unnatural and unwise conduct.

The first movement of the public mind in America was, to suppress rebellion by acting within the ordinary lines of our government and by forbearing to meddle with the institutions of States. This, with the light which we then had, seemed the wisest course. Events have made it impossible. There has been a divine will overruling human wisdom and turning our best counsels to folly. We have been defeated in every attempt to conciliate the Union men of the South. We have been unable to conduct a war in the seceded States without disturbing the framework of their economies. We have been driven, not by any sense of justice, or from love of human rights, but from the necessities of war, to interfere with the relation of master and slave. The hands of our Administration are covered all over with the cobwebs of petty policies, which come from meddling with slavery. Every General in the army has been disorganizing the system. Congress cast a harpoon into it so deep that it touched blood.

Meanwhile, it has been found impossible to carry on war in revolted States and yet conduct the government in the loyal States by merely civil processes. There is not a State in the whole North, where, if he chooses, the President's hand is not stronger than all the laws and Constitution. He may arrest any man, imprison without charges, refuse trial, hold him indefinitely in ward, discharge him without reasons given. The President may shut up any foundery, take possession of it for government; take any machine-shop, any machine, ship, locomotive, road, telegraph, that he pleases. An act bestowing upon him the dictatorship, would confer no more real power than he now legally possesses. Do we object? No. We heartily consent. Should the power be abused, a free people would soon find means of regaining and defending their liberties. But the whole nation is under essentially military government. Civil laws are proceeding, as usual, and the life and business of society is, for the most part, running in its accustomed channels. This is so because civil procedures agree with military necessities. But there is not a civil law, process, or custom that might not be rigorously restrained or stopped to-morrow if military law choose. Civil laws are playing within reach of the lion's paw, and by his permission. At any moment he may pounce on them. Civil laws are not paramount. The whole North is as really under military law as the South.

It is useless to talk, therefore, of being restrained by our laws, our institutions, our Constitution. The President of the United States, as the Commander-in-Chief of our army and navy, has in his hands the power of the whole country, and the right given him, by the people, to do whatever the safety of the country demands. There is no stretch of authority, and no use of power, that he may make, that will not be justified, if the public good requires it.

With power to destroy slavery, if we refuse to destroy it, what reason can we give to the public sentiment of the world for refusing the independence of the South? To be sure, this government has an abstract right to claim its whole original jurisdiction: it has a technical claim to the territory of all the rebellious States. But, this is one of those cases in which the moral principle will take precedence of all technical rights.

The South claims independence not for the sake of liberty, but for the sake of enforcing slavery. The North must put in a nobler claim than that to carry the sympathy of the civilized world. Who should care which side prevails, if both mean the same thing, and that detestable thing, slavery?

If the North means to perpetuate slavery in the South, the territory is not worth fighting for. But if they mean to cleanse this continent from its great curse and crime, then they inspire their legal and technical claim with the invincible authority of a high moral idea, and make it omnipotent. Who ought to control this continent? Those who want it for freedom, or those who want it for slavery?

Shall the loyal States spend millions of treasure, and pour out the life-blood of their families, only for the sake of giving back to the South a right to brood and hatch the cockatrice's eggs of slavery? If by this war we secure a free continent, we cannot pay too dear a price. But we are wasting our very hearts, only to bring back a cancer! A higher purpose gives to the government an indefeasible right to the whole territory of this land! That purpose boldly declared will shut the mouth of every enemy in Europe. It will bring us again to our rightful place, as the leader and champion of all, in every land, who assert for man his natural rights! It will cut the nerve of intrigue and give a simple and natural solution of affairs now most difficult, because seeking to harmonize things antagonistic and irreconcilable.

The President has the right and power to destroy slavery. Let him account to the civilized world for not doing it!—*H. W. Beecher, in The Independent.*

TRIBUTE TO HANNAH WEBB.

[HENRY C. WRIGHT, in a letter to *The Liberator*, pays the following tribute, as just as it is beautiful and touching, to the late HANNAH WEBB.]

I CANNOT express to you the feelings with which I read the obituary of our friend, HANNAH WEBB, of Dublin. Some of the most cherished and instructive memories of my life are associated with that pure, great-hearted, large-souled woman.

Thursday, October 27th, 1842, I landed in Dublin after twenty-six days of unintermitting sea-sickness between New York and Liverpool, and between Liverpool and Dublin. I was a stranger in a strange land, and utterly prostrated. I was most kindly and hospitably welcomed to the home of Richard D. and Hannah Webb; and, until the 30th of January, 1843, I was under the nursing care of the latter.

I was in Europe, lecturing and travelling five years, during which time the home of Hannah and Richard was my home—the centre of my life, as it was of theirs. I did much printing while in that kingdom, and it was mostly done by Richard; and all was subjected to the strong judgment, the good sense and correct taste of his wife. I came to feel, as all her associates and acquaintances did, most reluctant to differ with her on any subject, whether of domestic duty and economy, of social propriety and obligation, or of moral principle and action. I never met the human being to whose instincts, conscience, reason, sympathy, good taste, intellectual acumen and discernment, and moral discrimination, I so naturally, and, as it were, necessarily deferred, as I did to hers. And this, so far as five years' observation and experience confirm, might be said by all who were associated with her, or came under her influence in any department of life.

In regard to her own interior and exterior life, no judge could be more severe and exacting; she being the most sensitive to what she considered the least deviation from her own recognized standard of justice and right. She could find and offer no excuses for herself; but she was never without kindly apologies for the misdirections of others. Hers was a love that was keenly alive to all "extenuating circumstance"; and often have I heard her say, as she said in a letter to me while at Graefenberg, "If we only knew everything, we should seldom blame anybody severely." Never have I seen more perfectly embodied in human form the spirit manifested by the Martyr of Calvary, when he said of his murderers: "Father, forgive them; *they know not what they do.*"

Hers was a love for all of human kind—that "thinketh and doeth no evil—that is all-hoping, all-confiding, all-enduring"—a love, also, that "seeketh not its own." Self-forgetfulness—self-sacrifice—was the one ruling element of her nature, the one controlling trait of her character. In her relations as a wife, a mother, or a friend, if sacrifices were to be made, whether in things small or great, she claimed it as her right to make them. Practically, as well as in spirit and theory, she never wounded the body or spirit of another for her own benefit. To conquer hatred by love, unkindness by kindness, cruelty by gentleness, evil with good, was the very breath of her spirit-life. I never saw a more perfect illustration of this great heroic spirit than in the daily and hourly life of our friend. I do not believe a human being ever spoke harshly or unkindly to or of her, without conscious shame and reproach, and loss of self-respect; so true, so just, so earnestly loving and kind was she to all.

In my private journal—diary rather—extending over five years, are many records of the sayings and doings of that bright, sunny, heroic spirit, illustrative of the most striking and prominent traits of her character. Her life was an ever-present, ever-active sacrifice of self to the good of all around her, a heroic, august martyrdom to beautify and ennoble and make happy the lives of others. Oceans and continents presented no barriers to her sympathy and active goodness. The American slave in his chains and under the bloody slave-driver's lash, the exiled in Australia, the crushed and cowed victims of power in Hindostan, the sable victims of Anglo-Saxon cupidity and cruelty in the wilds of Africa, were objects of her sympathetic regard. Her great, womanly soul, without regard to creed, color, country or condition, embraced the human race in its loving devotion.

Never have I known, in my widely-extended and intimate knowledge of human nature, as made manifest, especially in domestic and social relations, a more perfect and living interpretation of my own conception of God and heaven, as expressed by the favorite follower of the gentle, but majestic Martyr of Calvary: "*God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.*" No definition of God, I ever saw, seemed to me so intelligible, so practical, so truthful, so adapted to express the presence and glory of the Divine in human relations, and yet so sublime. No heaven ever seemed to me so perfect, so living, and so full of that rest which consists in the most intense and ennobling activity, as that which consists in dwelling in love and in God—in a love and sympathy for all of human kind, and in God as seen and worshipped in living men, women and children. The religion and God of our loved and honored friend were facts, not fictions. She saw and worshipped God in the living present, not merely in the dead past. She revered man, not his incidents; and tenderly and reverently sought his elevation and happiness, and not the preservation and perpetuity of his mere appendages. Her daily and hourly life and conversation were full of facts to illustrate the truth of these remarks.

She is not dead, nor does she sleep. She has but cast off the outer garment of her being. The physical medium, through which that great, loving, womanly soul was made manifest to the exterior senses of all around her is dead, and is now returning to its original elements; but the woman, the wife, the mother, the friend, so loved, so cherished, so reverenced in all relations, is not dead. I enter the presence of her husband and her children; I see not her bright, sunny face, with material eyes; I hear not her tones of affection and words of power; nor am I conscious of her corporeal presence; but "*I cannot make her dead.*" I am conscious of her presence, as a living, loving, thinking, social being, perfectly understanding and sympathizing with the loved ones with whom her existence and destiny will ever be blended. Her immortality, her eternal life, is, with me, a living and a sublime reality—is blended with the daily and hourly life of the loved ones she has left in bodily form in her home. In the great anti-slavery movement in this land, and in the struggle for liberty, and against slavery in every form, throughout the world, "*I cannot make her dead.*" No! HANNAH WEBB, the true, loving, devoted wife, the tender, wise, and ever-watchful mother, the all-trusted and ever-sympathizing friend, the world-wide philanthropist, the great heroic martyr to her self-sacrificing, all-hoping, all-confiding, all-enduring love for human beings, and sympathy for human suffering, "*I cannot make her dead.*" She lives and labors and reigns over human hearts, as one of earth's truest saviors, and most loved and honored queens.

THE MEANING OF COLONIZATION.—Let us recognize the fact that colonization means the perpetuation of slavery. Its noisy advocates are nearly all champions of the doomed "institution." Its axiom—"Whites and blacks cannot live together in peace if both are free"—is borrowed from the armory of slavery. Its purpose is to render slavery more secure by sending to foreign climes all who would be most dangerous to its peace. Certainly, there are humane and good men who favor colonization on other grounds, and the President is one of them. Colonization may be regarded with complacency as a twilight phase or stage through which many minds pass on their way from the midnight gloom of slavery to the noonday blaze of universal freedom. And doubtless, when freedom for all shall have been achieved, the blacks of the now free and Border slave States will be strongly attracted toward the more genial climes of the Gulf States, and will gradually obey that attraction. But this tendency will prefer to dispense with all Colonization Societies and Presidential exportations, resting upon and sustained by the perfect law of liberty.—*Horace Greeley, in The Independent.*

THE NEGRO ON THE FENCE.

HEARKEN to what I now relate,
And on its moral meditate.

A waggoner, with grist for mill,
Was stalled at bottom of a hill.
A brawny negro passed that way,
So stout he might a lion slay.
"I'll put my shoulder to the wheels
If you'll bestir your horse's heels!"
So said the African, and made
As if to render timely aid.
"No," cried the waggoner, "Stand back!
I'll take no help from one that's black";
And, to the negro's great surprise,
Flourished his whip before his eyes.
Our "darkey" quick "skedaddled" thence,
And sat upon the wayside fence.
Then went the waggoner to work,
And lashed his horses to a jerk;
But all his efforts were in vain
With shout, and oath, and whip, and rein.
The wheels budged not a single inch,
And tighter grew the waggoner's pinch.
Directly there came by a child
With toiling step and vision wild.
"Father," said she, with hunger dread,
"We famish for the want of bread."
Then spake the negro: "If you will,
"I'll help your horses to the mill."
The waggoner in grievous plight,
Now swore and raved with all his might,
Because the negro wasn't white;
And plainly ordered him to go
To a certain place that's down below.
Then rushing came the waggoner's wife,
To save her own and infant's life.
By robbers was their homestead sacked,
And smoke and blood their pillage tracked.

Here stops our tale. When last observed,
The waggoner was still "conserved"
In mud at bottom of the hill,
But bent on getting to the mill.
And hard by, not a rod from thence,
The negro sat upon the fence.

—*Evening Post.*

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NEGROES.

FOR the first time in our country's history, a number of negroes have been invited to and have held a free and friendly conference on matters of grave public concern with a President of the United States. The leading colored men of the Federal Metropolis were thus called to the White House and treated to a speech from President Lincoln on Thursday of last week. The tone of that speech was kind; its spirit was friendly; but its words do not seem to have fallen on sympathizing ears. Nor can we wonder at this when we consider that its burthen ran thus: "You are now free; but yours is a limited, crippled, inferior, negro freedom at best, and there is little prospect of its improvement here. You are disliked and regarded with prejudice by the whites: two races so diverse cannot get on well together: they degrade and corrupt each other: so you ought to migrate to Central America, where you shall have new homes, with work and pay for it, and be protected by us. I strongly urge you to go."

The blacks were not expected to make any immediate reply to this discourse, but to take time for reflection and consultation, and respond at leisure. Had they been at liberty to speak as they felt, their response would probably have run thus: "Mr. President, we are thankful for your kindness and courtesy in thus consulting us with regard to matters so vitally affecting our own well-being: it is treatment which, as you must be aware, our race is not accustomed to receive from yours. We joyfully remember that you are the first President of the United States ever chosen on an anti-slavery platform, and that one fruit of your election is the banishment of slavery from the soil of this District. We gratefully consider that other measures of like tenor have received your official sanction if not your original and hearty support. We should be most happy to so act as to prove that our gratitude for these noble acts is not confined to words.

"But, Mr. President, the migration of our whole race—for that is of course what you desire, since the expatriation of a few families can have no importance, no interest, save as the pioneer, the precursor, of a general exodus—is a very grave matter. Before deciding upon it, we should desire a clear acquaintance with the climate, soil, government, religion, commercial facilities, political stability, intelligence, civilization, etc., of the region to which we are consigned. And we should wish to be able to explain fully to our people how a government that cannot or will not secure them in the full enjoyment of their God-given, natural human rights on its own soil, can certainly do so in a foreign land afflicted with chronic anarchy and impotence two thousand miles away.

"As to the instinctive, unconquerable aversion alleged to exist between your race and ours, we disclaim any participation in it. As to their incapacity to live peacefully in the same community as freemen, we solemnly assure you that we do not share it. As to our alleged subordination and inferior position, we will only say that, so far as it is founded in natural disparity, we cannot regard it as hardship; while so much of it as is fictitious and based on blind prejudice and vulgar antipathy, we are confident that time must slowly overcome. It does not seem to afford us an adequate reason for quitting our own for a foreign land.

"Finally, Mr. President, we are but a handful of four million of people, most of whom are now enduring that bitter, cruel bondage from which we have been mercifully delivered. We must heed the great Apostle's injunction to 'Remember those in bonds as bound with them.' We cannot desert our brethren in this momentous crisis. Our departure would be hailed by the champions of slavery as an admission that emancipation is only safe or practicable when supplemented by colonization. We dare not make that admission. We cannot thus betray our brethren in adversity. But if you will proclaim freedom to the slaves of rebels, in accordance with the Confiscation Act recently signed by you, and instruct your commanders to give full force and effect to the liberating provisions of that Act, we will, so soon as the freedom of our race is assured, supply the persons necessary to give the experiment of Central American Colonization a fair and patient trial."

Such, I judge, would have been the response of the free blacks of Washington to the President's exhortation, had they felt at liberty to speak frankly and fully. Would it not have been worthy of consideration?—*Horace Greeley, in The Independent.*

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THEM?—The answer to the question, What shall we do with the negroes? is simply this: Do just what you have done with the oppressed and poor of all nations—give them equal rights, a fair start, and the restraint and protection of just laws, and God and human nature will answer for the rest.

We commend the following passage from Macaulay, which might advantageously be printed in gold letters on our Capitol, where all who run may read:

"Many politicians of our times are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is—FREEDOM. When a prisoner leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day—he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces; but the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun.—*Mrs. Stowe, in The Independent.*

HOME COURTESIES.—In the home intercourse it should be remembered that each one has his place and his part. A happy and pleasant home is an impossibility where any one slights his duty. Home is not a place where you are to cosset your own fancies, or be entertained by the rest. You have no right to sit down, listless and dull, and say, "Come, amuse me and see how pleasant you can make home." You have no right to complain that home is ungenial, till you are sure that you have tried your best to make it genial. The men who complain of homes are mostly those of whom the homes complain, men whose dignity is offended at the bare suggestion that they have something to do toward making it pleasant. Home is not a mere place of entertainment, a sort of tavern, and he who turns to it for entertainment merely deserves to be disappointed. Hast thou nothing to do, O man! but to throw thyself upon a sofa, or monopolize the easiest chair, and, holding back all thine own information demand that wife and children amuse thee? or wilt thou go moodily out to club or store, declaring that thou wilt not stay where so little is done for thee? And shall the young man say, "My sisters do nothing to make home pleasant to me," when he has done nothing to make home pleasant to them? I do not think the different members of a home realize how much the pleasant profitable intercourse of home depends on each, or how hard it is when one and another hang back for the rest to supply the deficiency.—*Rev. J. F. W. Ware.*

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